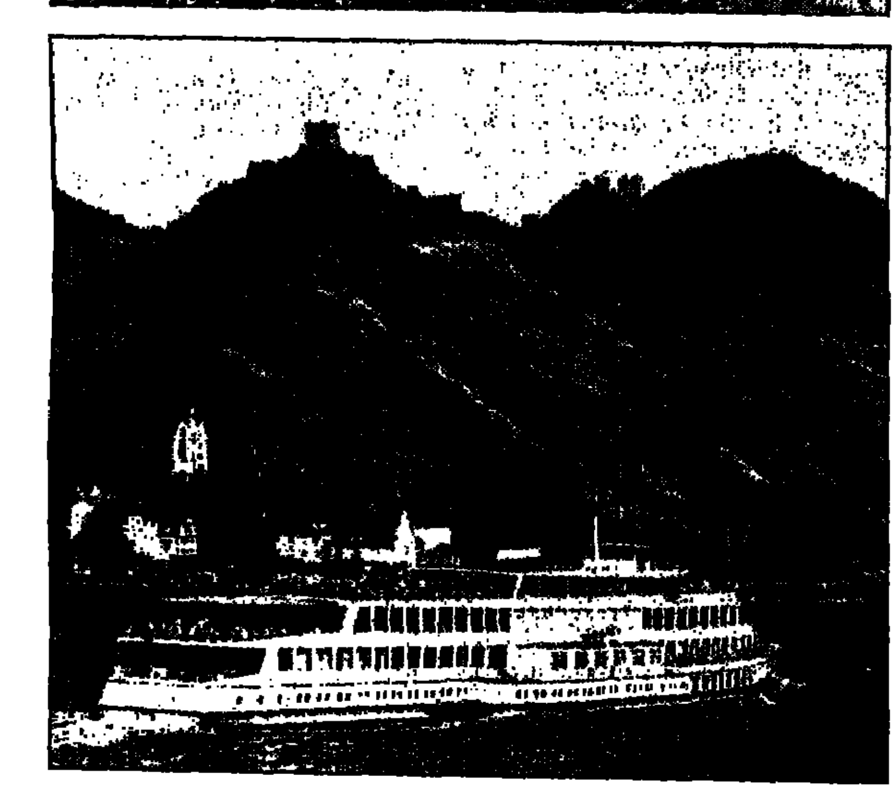








The German Tribune

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Helsinki security conference —a hope for the future

In a fine and thoughtful address to the security conference in Helsinki French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert wondered what he would say to "a child, my son, all your sons" was the significance of the conference, in comprehensible terms and all honesty.

His own answer was that it represented a hope. At another point in the speech his deep-seated scepticism resurfaced: "What is this conference? A trial without a future? A practical test of detente? "

We cannot tell. Even now the gathering of Foreign Ministers has come to a close the conference cannot be said to have represented more than an *essai*, a hope.

A degree of optimism is warranted as regards its further prospects. This confidence can be based, for instance, on the final recommendations of the preliminary conference in which the Free World managed to secure a number of concessions from the Soviet Union.

At Helsinki Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko went back on not a single one of these concessions, yet at the same time his comments made it apparent how insecure the foundations are on which the compromise of the final recommendations are based.

On a number of issues, such as the principles of security in Europe, the formulation of precise details may well put the cat among the pigeons; on others, such as individual contacts, the preliminary agreement amounts to no more than that the Soviet Union is prepared to consider certain issues.

Bargaining over the precise details of all these compromises will thus not begin until the second stage of the conference in Geneva when the commissions set up by the Foreign Ministers start to draft their recommendations and draw up the final resolutions.

It was only to be expected that Mr Gromyko would try to prejudice the outcome of the final resolutions in Helsinki. In the process the original Soviet interest in the conference, that of nipping in the bud all attempts to undermine the status quo in Europe, came to the fore.

Nothing is more important for the Soviet Union than the principle that frontiers are inviolable, which on its terms means much the same as unchangeable. The Kremlin is still trying to retool the security conference into a full-scale peace conference that will provide international legal confirmation of its empire in Eastern Europe.

The West cannot, however, countenance a formula precluding the possibility of peaceful frontier changes. Any such idea is particularly objectionable for this country and Mr Gromyko will hardly have been surprised when his Bonn counterpart Walter Scheel made this even clearer than US Secretary of State Rogers had done.

The security conference can be no substitute for a peace conference as long as a just peace remains impossible in Europe. It can, on the other hand, serve to alleviate an injust peace resulting from the war and the post-war era and to boost the policy of detente pursued as the great powers come to terms.

In this context there arises the issue of the Brezhnev Doctrine of the limited sovereignty of socialist states. The West must try at all costs to avoid recognising this doctrine in any way. In this it has so far been successful.

Even the Soviet draft for the catalogue of principles of coexistence has been based to such an extent on international law and the UN Charter that it hardly accommodates the Brezhnev Doctrine.

As the Soviet Union would have it the Brezhnev Doctrine does not in any case exist. The invasion of Czechoslovakia was officially the result of a plea for assistance from a friendly government.

Discussion of the Brezhnev Doctrine harks back to the past and ignores the fact that the Soviet Union has meanwhile embarked on a far more ambitious project. It is trying to make use of the Western peace alliance to consolidate its sphere of influence both politically and economically.

By means of bilateral agreements, particularly with this country and the United States, Russia has already progressed a good way in the direction of a peace agreement that would not only save it from having to apply the Brezhnev Doctrine but also ensure it of greater influence in the West.

The Kremlin is now a captive of the dynamism it itself largely engendered. It has left behind the point of no return much more emphatically than the West has, particularly as its economic requirements are so enormous.

Herein lie the West's hopes of further progress, especially if it manages to maintain unanimity. *Dieter Schröder*

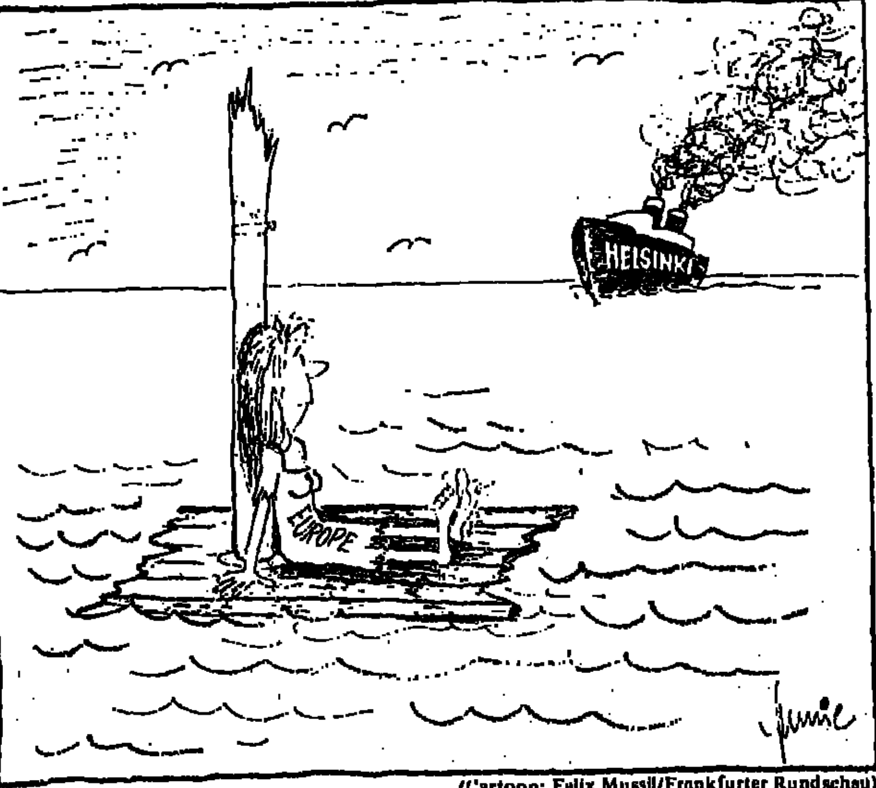
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 July 1973)

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The Danish Ambassador, K.B. Anderson (left) gave a reception at the Danish Embassy in Helsinki for foreign ministers attending the European Security Conference. Among his guests were Otto Winzer (centre) GDR Foreign Minister, and Walter Scheel Federal Republic Foreign Minister.
(Photo: AP)



(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Walter Scheel to visit Budapest and Sofia

DIE WELT

Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel is to visit Budapest and Sofia for the forthcoming establishment of diplomatic ties with Hungary and Bulgaria.

Dates have not yet been settled, but will doubtless take into account the forging of full diplomatic links between this country and Czechoslovakia.

Bonn and Prague are expected to formalise relations during Chancellor Brandt's visit to the Czech capital in the first half of September.

Albania will then be the sole communist country in Europe with which Bonn has no ties. As yet no approaches have been made by either side regarding links with Tirana.

The Foreign Office is maintaining strict silence about Herr Scheel's projected tour of South-East Europe, but it is understood that the Minister took the opportunity presented by the Helsinki conference of European Foreign Ministers to arrange dates and details of the establishment of diplomatic ties with Hungary und Bulgaria.

He will first confer with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, then with his Bulgarian counterpart, and announce respective intentions to forge diplomatic links while still in the Finnish capital for the European security conference. Ties will formally be established in, say, late August.

Hungary and Bulgaria have for months been impatiently awaiting the signing of the Bonn-Prague agreement on which they have made moves on their own part dependent. This being the case, appoint-

Continued on page 2

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

US-USSR nuclear agreement worries Nato partners

The San Clemente shock of the solemn undertaking between President Nixon and Soviet leader Brezhnev to avoid a nuclear confrontation at all costs has given rise to renewed discussion of the European deterrent project. The indications are that America, with its commitments to come to the aid of fellow-members of Nato scaled down by the agreement with Moscow, is prepared to promote the development of an independent European deterrent. On his recent visit to the United States French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert is said to have been offered the use of US test installations for France's *force de frappe*. Washington is also rumoured to be prepared to interpret the MacMahon Act forbidding the proliferation of nuclear data more liberally in respect of the United Kingdom. At this juncture it was learnt in London that Bonn, for reasons that have yet to be elucidated, has raised objections to a conceivable merger of the British and French nuclear resources. In the following article Hermann Bohle reviews the changes that have arisen from the viewpoint of Nato's Eurogroup in the light of Washington's new nuclear strategy.

Fourteen European ambassadors at Nato headquarters in Brussels will not forget 22 June for some time. You could have heard a pin drop as the head of the US mission rattled through the text of the Nixon-Brezhnev agreement on the prevention of nuclear warfare.

The atmosphere was chilly as he spoke and his words came so fast that it proved almost impossible to take notes. Six hours later the American and Soviet leaders signed the agreement in Washington. It is obvious from the wording of the agreement that it had been prepared with close attention to detail, yet America's Nato allies were given no advance notice whatsoever.

Not a fortnight beforehand, on Whit Saturday, Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns of Holland had held talks in Paris with "our dear Henry" – Dr Kissinger, the architect of US detente politcy – without a mention being made of the forthcoming agreement.

In Brussels the silence of the grave was broken by the Norwgian ambassador, who announced that his country welcomed the agreement. His French counterpart noted less cordially that Paris had foressen something of the sort for years.

It was, of course, gratifying that the Big Two had reached agreement in the interest of peace but it was, he added, no more than a simple bilateral agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. In other words, France was not going to submit to tutelage.

This country's ambassador was taken aback by the bombshell. His British opposite number observed that the wording of the treaty, applying as it does to force and the threat of force within an international framework only implied American acceptance of the Brezhnev doctrine regarding the limited sovereignty of socialist states.

In view of the vaguer nature of the nuclear protection afforded by the United States, the British ambassador continued, his country attached even greater importance to the need for a boost in conventional armament.

Bearing in mind the overwhelming superiority in troop strength and firepower and the unabated arms drive of the Eastern Bloc, the French ambassador voiced agreement.

Twilight of the Gods accurately summarises the general sentiment in Brussels. The Americans sounded a note of embarrassment, explaining that their superiors, the State Department in Washington, were no longer completely in the picture because of the personal diplomacy conducted by President Nixon and his national security adviser Dr Kissinger.

US spokesmen hastened to emphasise that were an attack to be made on Western Europe the United States would continue to stand by its treaty obligations.

This, of course, is *the* question as far as America's allies in Europe are concerned. Since 1966 at the latest it has been obvious that the extension of America's nuclear guarantee to encompass Western Europe constitutes a potentially suicidal risk for the United States.

Americans are only too happy to be reassured that we realise the President, elected by American voters as President of the United States, would do everything in his power in the event of a state of emergency to avoid nuclear intervention on Europe's behalf. But this, when all is said and done, reduces the value of the US nuclear commitment.

Mr Brezhnev may not be the man to make the move, but were he replaced overnight his successor might succumb to the temptation to wield Russia's military might in an attempt to blackmail Western Europe – or even to wage limited warfare by means of missiles launched by satellite.

This is the inference drawn by most Europeans at Nato headquarters in Brussels from the US-Soviet agreement. The facts have been apparent to all and sundry since 1966 but they are now in black and white, they add.

The situation may not, then, have changed in fact but the psychological crunch has certainly come as far as the joint defence of Western Europe is concerned.

Articles Four and Five of the agreement specify that the two powers urgently consult one another in the event of an emergency. Even when deteriorating relations between other countries (bearing in mind the alliance commitments of Russia and America) threaten to lead to nuclear engagement, the United States and the Soviet Union will first consult one another and then inform their allies of the outcome of the talks.

The Big Two's allies indeed only rank third on the list. By the terms of the treaty the chairman of the UN security Council and the UN Secretary-General must first be informed.

"For the first time since the war," the Soviet news agency *Novosti* crows, "the USSR and the USA have embarked on the search for a common approach that will contribute towards the settlement of European problems."

The Americans on the other hand deny that the agreement constitutes a nuclear Yalta and US-Soviet condominium over the entire world.

A French observer has noted that it may seem strange for Paris, in view of its cordial relations with the Soviet Union, to voice warnings about the repercussions of the agreement, but he is prepared to hazard a reason as to why this should be the case.

It is, he says, simply not in the interest of equal relations within Europe as a whole in the future for a conglomerate of Western European countries to be "Finlandised" and compelled to submit to Soviet influence.

One high-ranking Nato official is worried lest written confirmation of the lowering of America's nuclear shield strengthen tendencies in Western Europe in general and in this country in particular to come to terms with what is, after all, the more powerful Eastern Bloc.

Whitehall shares this anxiety and British scepticism about the prospects of the Vienna talks on mutual balanced force reduction has intensified.

The British note that there must be no MBFR agreement extending special political or military status to any part of the emerging European Union. In other words, there must be no inroads on the sovereignty of a future united Western Europe.

The tag "De Gaulle saw it all coming" is going the rounds in Brussels. "Let's hope that Paris now, unlike the Germans who slammed the anchors on E... draws the right conclusions," one ... Nato official notes, not as yet h... noticed any perceptible change in F... attitudes as regards Nato routine.

Yet the two Defence Minsters are comparing notes, France's Robert G... having only recently held talks in B... with this country's Georg Leber.

The agenda included arms cooper... greater independent Western Europe... defence strike-power, the developme... a European armaments union, nu... cooperation between Britain and Fr... target planning and long-term ... relating to deterrent credibility.

America now seems ready to rel... restrictions on Western European de... autonomy up to and including ... nucleaar sector. French Foreign Mi... Jobert recently discussed in Washi... with Dr Kissinger the possibility ... French access to American underg... nuclear test facilities. America is p... the way for a smoother transfer of n... known-how to France.

Britain and France are cur... wondering how this country can b... included in a Western European de... organisation inclusive of an Anglo-Fr... substitute deterrent without either b... put at a disadvantage or being allowe... finger on the nuclear trigger.

"Following the US-Soviet agree... only an integrated Europe can sav... day," one Nato official comments, ad... that it is now probably too late to do... He is afraid that the Big Two will ... decide once and for all what ... Europeans are or are not to be allowed... do. Paris, reliable sources note, ... preparing to reverse its present policy ... fundamentally adjust to the neces... now obtaining.

Hermann B...

(Münchner Merkur, 3 July 1973)

Stalemate in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has gone to the polls to elect one of the strangest parliaments ever, with a scheduled life-span of nine-months. Unless it succeeds in forming an inter-denominational government in this time it faces the threat of dissolution and fresh elections on the same terms. Should it succeed, the newly elected Northern Irish assembly will remain in office for a period of four years.

The three groups that emerged from the elections cannot immediately set about forming a government, however. They must first prove themselves to be a working parliament in terms of equitable standing orders and inter-denominational committees.

There are so many checks and balances incorporated in the new Northern Irish constitution that it is surprising how little support Protestant extremists gained and how few voters followed the IRA's advice to Roman Catholics to spoil their papers.

The election results must have come as a sad blow to the middle-of-the-road Alliance group, however. The Protestant vote has been split between the Loyalists, who are opposed to any sharing of power, and the official Unionists under ex-Premier Brian Faulkner, the Loyalists ga... four seats more than the Unionists.

This at least means an end ... erstwhile impregnable Unionist m... ties. Mr Faulkner and his supporters ... join forces with the predomin... Roman Catholic Social Democratic ... Labour Party if a government is to ... formed and the parliament is to sur...

Following the encounter betw... British and Irish Republic Prem... Edward Heath and Liam Cosg... Whitehall and Dublin are agreed on ... course to be taken, and the South w... be prepared to accept an Ulster gover... by a Grand Coalition. Meanwhile ... Belfast, bargaining has started with ... aim of reaching agreement on ... necessary concessions.

(Die Zeit, 6 July 1973)

Scheel to visit Budapest and Sofia

Continued from page 1

ments have been under review at the Bonn Foreign Office for some time.

In mid-August Herr Mefine, currently head of the Foreign Office disarmament and disarmament controls department, will take over from Rolf von Keiser as head of this country's trade mission in Sofia. Once full diplomatic relations are established Menne will be the first ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Bulgarian capital.

According to current information no changes are planned at the top in Budapest. Hermann Kersting will stay on as head of Bonn's trade mission there.

Despite Foreign Office silence on this point it can be taken for granted that the current head of Bonn's trade mission in Prague, Otto Heipertz, will be replaced not long after the establishment of full diplomatic ties. It remains to be seen who his successor will be.

(Die Welt, 5 July 1973)

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DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The lessons to be learned from the latest Mark revaluation

DIE ZEIT

How many more times is the Mark to be revalued? No more than an hour after the most recent revaluation Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt was asked when he thought he would have to take the same sort of action again. He had the honesty to admit that another revaluation could be in the offing – this would be the sixth.

Large-scale battles on the home front were fought over the 1969 revaluation. Exporters were concerned about their future existence and farmers were worried about their income.

But now revaluation is one economic instrument of many fearlessly wielded by Helmut Schmidt. Industry no longer considers it a damper on exports. Despite the five revaluations the export figures are continuing to rise unabated.

But the revaluations have not been able to prevent inflation continuing its destructive course. In the second half of the sixties an economic volcano began to rumble, spewing out dollars which flooded other countries in ever-increasing quantities.

Because of the obligation to exchange at fixed rates, these dollars increased the amount of money available and fed the flames of any inflationary madness committed by the State, management, the trade unions or the banks.

The fixed rates of exchange always acted as a fresh invitation to the owners of untied funds to administer them in such a way that they could rake in the profits chalked up as a result of revaluation.

Despite these shortcomings no international currency conference ever thought of abandoning the principe of fixed though adaptable rates of exchange. But in practice the exchange rates lacked the ability to adapt quickly to a changing situation by revaluing or devaluing and the Western world had to live with the disadvantages of the fixed system.

Free exchange rates gradually began to achieve their breakthrough – despite the regulations of the International Monetary Fund. The banks issuing the floating currencies were freed of their obligation to intervene on the money market and support sagging exchange rates.

Governments which decided to float their countries' currencies at first had a bad conscience about their actions. The Canadian government was one of the first and its example was later followed between May and December 1971 by the governments of the Federal Republic and the Netherlands.

This course of action proved successful and floating a currency was looked upon as an acceptable financial policy. An increasing number of governments realised that the attempt to maintain fixed rates of exchange in a world where capital freely circulated was tantamount to walking on water, as the *Economist* once put it.

But the logical conclusions were not drawn until the serious currency crisis last February. Experience with floating currencies has demonstrated that this is the only way to stop the flood of dollars.

All currencies were floated when the currency exchanges were reopened on 19 March 1973. The issuing banks still refused to intervene. The exchange rates are determined by the market situation.

But the market is not completely free. A system of controls on the circulation of capital corrects the market forces in bureaucratic fashion. Some countries prefer to trust the Mark. Others prefer to place their confidence in bureaucracy even though speculators have been able to clear the hurdles imposed when it came to the pinch.

In this bureaucratically controlled system of floating currencies the Federal Republic, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg play a special role as a centralised European force. Sweden and Norway have joined these countries.

This bloc has not quite abandoned the idea of fixed though adaptable rates of exchange. The currencies of these countries are related to each other by means of fixed rates that are not allowed to deviate by more than 2.25 per cent. But they float jointly in relation to the dollar.

Since 1 March this year the Federal Bank has not been obliged to buy up vast amounts of dollars to support the exchange rate. But, like all the issuing banks of the countries participating in this joint floatation, it is obliged to buy up weak currencies in the bloc with its own currency.

Before the latest revaluation of the Mark the Federal Bank bought quantities of Dutch guilders and French and Belgian francs so that these currencies would remain within the 2.25 per cent wavelength – the snake, as it is called.

This "snake" is worshipped as a symbol of the planned European economic and currency union. The governments of the countries participating in the bloc floating are the only ones today issuing orders to "walk on the water".

Britain, Eire and Italy have been sceptical about the success of this venture from the very beginning. Although they are members of the European Community they have refused to join the currency bloc. The pound sterling and the lira are therefore floating in relation to all other currencies.

Only the Mark, the French and Belgian franc, the guilder and the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish krone belong to the bloc which has sworn to support the exchange rates of each other's currencies.

The consequences were revealed shortly before the latest revaluation. The Federal Bank had to pump four milliard Marks into this country's economy when purchasing bloc currencies.

It is not surprising that Finance Minister Schmidt and Economic Affairs Minister Friderichs grew nervous. This represented an attack on their programme of stability and the gap in their armour was the question of the international monetary system.

The events in the international currency world prior to 19 March 1973 have been repeated since that date within the group of bloc floaters. As far as the eventual consequences are concerned, it makes no difference whether the flood of money coming the country consists of dollars, guilders or Belgian or French francs.

The government in Bonn will have to protect itself against this flood. It has three courses of action open to it. It can either revalue the Mark yet again, put pressure on its partners to harmonise the broad outlines of economic policy in the bloc countries or float the Mark in isolation.

The new distortions within the bloc could probably be ironed out by revaluing the Mark yet again. This is the only logical conclusion from current trends. But action of this type would be preceded by a flood of currency that would wreck all attempts at stability. Other courses of action must therefore by considered.

Economic Affairs Minister Friderichs does not believe that the currency situation will settle down again until the members of the currency bloc decide to adopt similar economic policies.

But Friderichs does not attach much hope to achieving a degree of standardisation at present. The government recently made a stand on stability after much hesitation. Should it now sit back and let itself be swept along by the trend?

There is a third possibility. The government should examine whether floating the Mark in isolation would not be the best course in the present situation. Floating the Mark in relation to all other currencies would destroy the last remnants of attempts to set up a European economic and currency union without suitable means at its disposal.

European agricultural policy would also have to take action to prevent a breakdown of the common agricultural market. In short, deciding to float the Mark in isolation would lead to the destruction of hallowed symbols of monetary integration.

But there is no place for nostalgia in politics. As it puts priority on stability the government should consider whether it can achieve more stability by putting less emphasis on European union.

Examination of the current European situation reveals that the temporary abandonment of some European aims would not be all that grave at present. The economic and currency union is not much more than the object of solemn promises at European summit conferences. In practice it is still at an embryonic stage and could not survive on its own.

Only two thirds of the Common Market countries are bound to each other by fixed rates of exchange. The other third stand outside the bloc system. What talk can there be of an economic and currency union when some member countries control the passage of capital to and from others?

The member countries are a long way away from achieving joint aims of stability and growth – but this is the only way to guarantee union. Instead the Community set up the European Monetary Fund without having a policy which it could serve.

The history of Europe's economic and monetary integration makes depressing reading. Like his precessor General de Gaulle, President Pompidou applies the brakes. Paris still has different political aims to the Federal Republic.

This survey of events suggests that the course of European monetary integration should be interrupted. Bonn could pull out until France revealed an honest desire to work jointly and constructively with the other members. Until that date floating the Mark in isolation would provide us with the opportunity of making our currency stable again.

Rudolf Herlt

(Die Zeit, 6 July 1973)

CDU viewed as centre party, survey reveals

The Institute for Applied Social Science (Infas) was recently commissioned by the government to investigate which party people most equated with the political centre. Chancellor Willy Brandt conjured up the phrase "new centre" for the SPD-FDP coalition some time ago.

During its survey Infas found that 56 per cent of the population considered the CDU to be the centre party, 54 per cent the FDP, 41 per cent the SPD and 35 per cent the CSU.

Fifty per cent of committed government supporters stated that the CDU was the party of the centre while only nineteen per cent of Opposition supporters said the same of the SPD.

The SPD was thought to be a party of the centre by 36 per cent of the self-employed (62 per cent of this group stated that the CDU was the centre party), 46 per cent of white-collar workers and civil servants (CDU: 59 per cent), 44 per cent of skilled workers (CDU: 55 per cent), 45 per cent of trained and unskilled workers (CDU: 56 cent) and thirty per cent of the pensioners (CDU: 52 per cent).

According to Infas, the Bavarian CSU takes up a special position in public opinion. A total of 35 per cent considered it the party of the political centre. Only 28 per cent of government supporters claim that the CSU belongs to the centre while 49 per cent of Opposition voters believe that the CSU too is a centre party.

(Die Welt, 26 June 1973)

FDP troubled if SPD moves too far to the left

Free Democrat leader Walter Scheel has frequently been caught thinking about the transitory nature of coalitions in recent weeks. A governing coalition only lasts as long as the cooperation and goodwill among its members, he says.

Views will tend to become more and more dissimilar as each promise contained in the government programme is fulfilled. Once the common aims have been achieved there is scope for compromise until the partners come to the point where their views differ in principle.

To prevent his opinions from being heralded as an affront to the Social Democrats, Scheel was quick to remove the barb and point out that the FDP and the CDU/CSU had worked together for a total of eleven years. Under these circumstances the SPD-FDP coalition should not break up until 1980.

But why is Scheel pondering over this question at so early a stage? Why have party colleagues Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Willi Weyer been heard to enlarge upon this theme?

This cannot be coincidental. The FDP is evidently firing a warning shot across the bows of the Social Democrats. Free Democrats are claiming that there can be no question of cooperation if the SPD moves too far to the left.

The Free Democrats are not too happy about the way the young and veteran left-wingers in the SPD are stepping up their demands for an end to free enterprise. They are also dissatisfied by Socialist tendencies to confuse detente with unilateral disarmament on the part of the Federal Republic.

The FDP is not merely directing its shafts on left-wingers within the governing coalition. It also has the electorate in mind. The party has attracted increased public favour recently. It could gain more if it proved itself man enough to oppose dangerous left-wing experiments.

Jürgen Lorenz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 3 July 1973)

■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

15th Evangelical Church Congress in Düsseldorf

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The fifteenth Evangelical Church Congress ended on 1 July with a service in Düsseldorf's new sports stadium. The course of the Congress confirmed both the fears and expectations which accompanied it from the very beginning.

There were three grounds for alarm. Firstly, that the general apathy in the Church paralysing all discussion and action might not be overcome merely by holding a Church Congress.

Secondly, that the boycott by right-wing ecclesiastical groups and left-wing action groups which put their stamp on the last Church Congress held four years ago in Stuttgart and did not turn up in any great number at Düsseldorf would automatically lead to a failure to get any real discussion going.

Thirdly, that the attempt to organise the Church Congress from a grass-roots' level by asking for proposals for the agenda and including committed groups and individuals in the preparations and organisation would automatically lead to an inflation of the administrative apparatus and frustration caused by interminable group processes long before the Church Congress was due to start. This would make the Congress's work harder instead of easier.

These fears were confirmed in part during the Church Congress. The number of visitors was lower than in previous years. Some eight to nine thousand people attended the three-day event on Düsseldorf's trade fair site but at least ten per cent were active participants or journalists.

There was far less interest in Bible study and spiritual care than at past Church Congresses. The discussions held in many of the halls on the trade fair site were far less passionate and controversial and were brought to an end more quickly than in the past.

There was a noticeable drop in the number of resolutions and divisions which had been welcomed, and cursed, as the long-delayed spread of democracy to the Church at early congresses in Hanover in 1967 and, above all, at Stuttgart in 1969.



Church music — modern style at the Evangelical Congress

It was asked whether the time, energy and money spent on the Congress – costs were estimated at three million Marks – still stood in any sensible proportion to the spiritual and social yield.

It was suggested that future Church Congresses might find it better to return to more primitive forms and regain a more spontaneous character. Instead of catering for the public at large, they should devote themselves to the narrower ecclesiastical sphere.

This proposal was rejected for the time being by those who are responsible for the Church Congress. After all, the expectations placed in this year's event were fulfilled.

Dr Heinz Zahmt, head of the Church Congress, stated his three main expectations before it opened. The Düsseldorf Church Congress was, he said, to be firstly a theological, secondly an ecumenical and thirdly a humanitarian Church Congress.

And so it turned out, or at least in part. It was a theological Church Congress inasmuch as its subject "Man lives not from bread alone but from every word that passes God's lips" is a central theological tenet and was understood and developed as such.

The discussion did not deal with theology in the specialist sense of the word but returned to the original meaning, the type of theology that asks after God as the source of life and excludes no area of real life from its deliberations.

The usual six groups were set up to discuss "What can we rely upon?" (faith), "Private affluence – public poverty (politics and society), "Life is different" (the individual), "Celebrated reconciliation" (divine service), "Ecumenical life" (The Church) and "No one-way traffic" (mission and development).

The Düsseldorf Church Congress was indeed an ecumenical Church Congress and need not shun comparison with the ecumenical gathering in Augsburg at Whitsun 1971.

No other Evangelical Church Congress has had so many active participants and speakers from the Catholic Church (Professor Metz and Mühlen and Bishop Stein) or from the Jewish community (Rabbis Lubliner, Gradwohl and Lehrmann).

The ecumenical movement was strongly in evidence in the project groups and among visitors too. Representatives came from over forty countries, including Eastern European States with the exception of the German Democratic Republic.

The Church Congress did well not to make the ecumenical movement one of the main aims of the Congress, treating it instead as an obvious working method. The ecumenical movement should be practised instead of featuring merely as a united ecclesiastical front. The Congress did not treat the ecumenical movement as an aim set way in the future but realised that it was possible today to think and live ecumenically.

The Düsseldorf Church Congress was also meant to be a humanitarian Church Congress. The fact that it became so is due to the large number of young people – well above half the participants were under 25.

Admittedly, these young people did not participate in every sphere of activity, only those sectors where they could be actively and emotionally committed. They took part for instance in the political Evening Prayer, in the Evening Liturgy and above all in the Shalom Forum and Communication and Information Centre.

Here they provided a colourful mixture of information about social work and development aid on the one hand and on the other hand a play street, recreation centre, religious services and agitation, street theatre and street-corner discussions, music and painting, eating and drinking, helping and being helped.

A whole hall had to be devoted to these activities from early in the morning to late in the evening. This should now have established itself as an integral part of future Church Congresses.

All in all it can be said that there will have been some point in holding this Church Congress if some of its theological, ecumenical and human impulses reach parish level.

Gerhard Bauer

(Der Tagesspiegel, 1 July 1973)



Ecumenical service at Düsseldorf

(Photos: Hans Lachmann)

Fewer people leave the churches, survey reveals

The two largest Churches in the Federal Republic can once again draw up their lists of members without a great degree of heartsearching. The number of people leaving the Church in 1972 was down in comparison with the totals for 1970 and 1971.

The 22 Catholic bishoprics and the local Evangelical Churches expect lower drop-out figures in 1973. A survey conducted by the press agency revealed that anything up to 0.60 per cent of believers left the Church in 1972.

The survey did not provide a total for the whole of the Federal Republic; some Church authorities were more hesitant about supplying information than others.

However it is obvious that Church memership dropped severely in 1970 and 1971 when there were heated discussions about whether it was possible to live as a Catholic or Protestant outside the established Churches and still practise one's faith.

The Central Ecclesiastical Statistics Department in Cologne has supplied reliable information about the drop in membership in the Catholic Church during those years. According to these statistics the Catholic Church lost 69,4… of its members in 1970 and 58,36… in 1971.

Examination of the information available from seventeen bishoprics and the member Churches of the Evangelical Church reveals that the level of church tax cannot be held responsible for the drop in membership.

Most Christians belonging to the major Churches had to pay one tenth of their total income tax burden to the Church. Those living in Baden-Württemberg, Bremen and Hamburg only had to pay eight per cent. These figures do not take into account the money raised by the Churches at a local level.

The Protestant bishoprics and the Churches have suggested the introduction of a standard eight per cent rate of church tax but a number of the dioceses stated in the survey that they would not consider any reduction.

The largest regional Churches in the Federal Republic are the Archdiocese of Cologne with some 2.6 million believers and the Evangelical Church of Hanover with a membership of almost four million.

Despite the fact that it had fewer members, the Archdiocese of Cologne achieved a total budget of 465.6 million Marks last year. The Hanover Church budget for the same year was 31… millions and 370 million is expected this year.

Staff costs take up the lion's share of all Churches' budgets. But there are few common denominators where other expenditure is concerned. No comparisons can be drawn from the figures supplied to illustrate the Churches' social work which is usually put forward as the main argument for the retention of church tax.

The various Church authorities point to the particular difficulties involved in comparing these figures. The salaries for both vicars and social workers are included and a large number of vicars are involved in social work or do this kind of work as part of their clerical duties.

But most of the expenditure on spiritual care and social work is listed in the construction sector alongside the building of churches! Most of the Churches covered by the survey confirm that interest in the study of theology is growing though none of them were

Continued on page 5

■ DEFENCE

Defence Ministry cannot afford new weapons

When Ernst Wolf Mommsen, the present head of Krupp, was a State Secretary at the Defence Ministry he claimed that if the Bundeswehr were measured against the usual limitations imposed on industry it would be declared bankrupt. What Mommsen feared has now come about - the Defence Minister is short of cash. He is just about able to raise funds for the soldiers' pay and to meet repair bills. Purchasing new equipment has had to be reviewed.

The sad financial condition prevailing at the Defence Ministry has shaken up the arms industry in this country. At the end of the sixties the Bundeswehr's first generation of weapons were due to be replaced and the arms industry was looking forward to a profitable period. At the beginning the Bundeswehr had to get its weapons partly from abroad, the arms industry in the Federal Republic was only manufacturing weapons on licence. But at the end of the sixties plant had been re-built and the arms industry expected to make hay.

In the meantime hopes had become tarnished. Costs for the upkeep of the Bundeswehr have soared so considerably in the last few years that the opportunities for purchasing new arms grew fewer and fewer. In discussions over this year's estimates for the Bundeswehr calamity has appeared!

Defence Minister Georg Leber drew up four draft estimates. Minister Leber wanted from former Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt a defence budget of 27.2 milliard Marks, which in fact did not take care of all defence requirements.

But Finance Minister Schmidt only approved a Defence budget of 26.5 milliard Marks. According to planners at the Defence Ministry the reduced budget for maintaining defence preparedness is hardly enough. The cash will not go far enough to meet direct obligations with enough over for the purchase of new weapons.

Arms industry lobbyists in Bonn are perplexed. Sadly they recall today that there was once a time when everything was done to rebuild this country's arms industry. Between 1955 and 1970 this country shelled out 90 milliard Marks for defence purposes, 64 million for materiél, 19 milliard for the maintenance of the armed forces and eight milliard for research and development.

Towards the end of the sixties 55 per cent of expenditure for supplies was flowing into Federal Republic firms. By 1970 the proportion that was being paid to Federal Republic suppliers had risen to 70 per cent. This country's arms industry could look forward to some fat years ahead.

The proportion of domestic expenditure on arms of compared with overall industrial production is, at two per cent, minimal, but a number of branches of industry are dependent on arms contracts to a large extent. Aero space industries for instance. Something between 70 and 80 per cent of their finances flow from Defence Ministry coffers.

Several firms such as AEG-Telefunken and Siemens achieve a considerable part of their turnover in arms technology. The AEG-Telefunken plant at Ulm depends for fifty per cent of its turnover on arms. Krauss-Maffei, producing tanks achieved at the end of the sixties an increase of between 40 and 45 per cent in turnover due to arms contracts.

As always the strength of the Federal Republic arms industry is tank building. The development of the Leopard tank has kept Porsche, MAK-Maschinenbau, Kiel, the locomotive firm of Jung and the Luther plant busy. Krauss-Maffei has had overall command of the production of Leopards that has been worth approximately two milliard Marks.

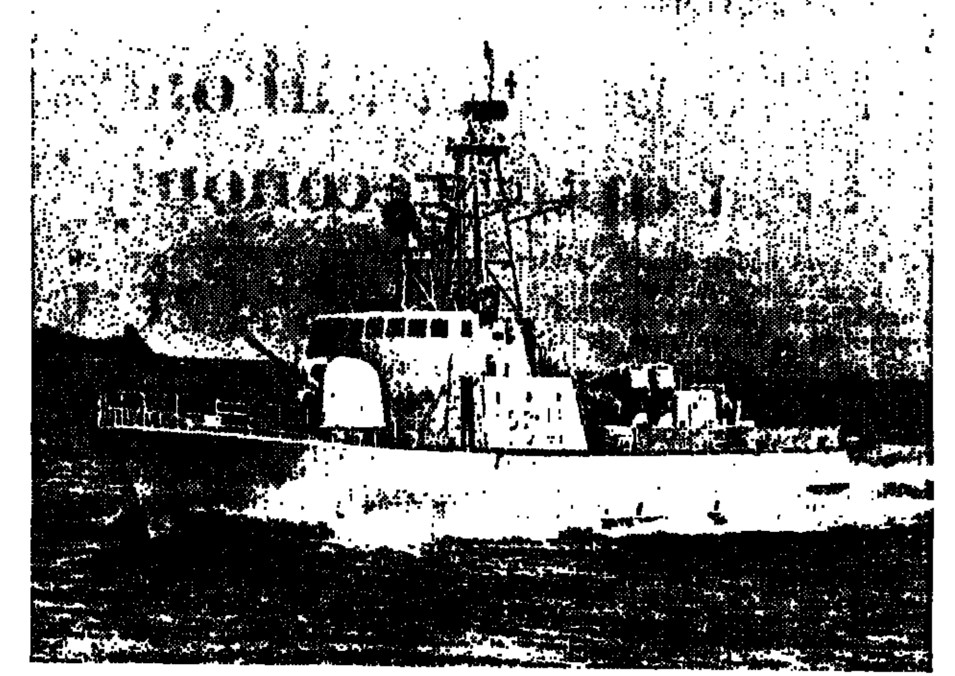
Recently the Defence Ministry has given the main contract for the construction of Flapanzers (anti-aircraft-tanks) to Krauss-Mattei. To handle this project Krauss-Mattei in the south of the country have had to join forces with a Krupp subsidiary in Kiel.

For the time being that looks like being the last contract given out by the Ministry. The cost of the new generation of weapons needed has become so expensive that the Defence Ministry budget will have to be increased considerably if puchases are to be made.

Starfighters used to cost approximately ten million Marks each, but the replacement of the out-dated Starfighter is likely to cost more than twice as much. The predecessor to the Leopard was only half as expensive. The destroyer *Hamburg* cost 105 million Marks but its successor the *Luttjens* has already cost 207 million Marks.

According to SPD Bundestag member Alfons Pawelczyk, in the light of the general rise in costs the Bundeswehr requires more than two milliard Marks a year to cover the increase in wage and repair bills. Ministerial director Lothar Weber from the Ministry's planning staff recently told the defence sub-committee that for several years the defence budget has been based less on requirements and more on the financial and economic demands prevailing.

Lothar Weber said: "The results are weapons that are too aged and equipment that has gone beyond the limits of its serviceability. This means increased outgoings for material and defence equipment in the next few years and a snowballing of arms requirements."



The new S 41 (Photo: dpa)

CDU defence expert Manfred Worner fears that the Bundeswehr will soon be in a critical position if the defence budget is not increased. He asked for a speedy reform of the Bundeswehr, emphasis on quality in manpower and materiél, a stringent rationalisation of the weapons system used and a rethinking of Nato stategy.

Defence Ministry experts are willing to drop proposals to purchase new weapons that have become expensive. Alfons Pawelczyk said: "Why does the Bundeswehr need equipment for use in extremely cold weather conditions."

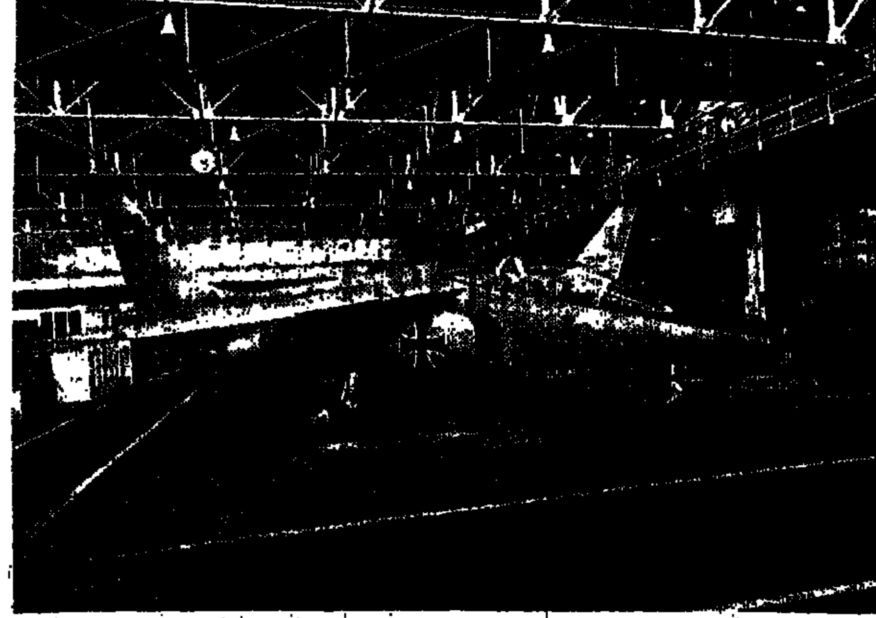
The large contracts that the arms industry has been receiving for the past three years are definitely a thing of the past. Contracts for no more than four million Marks can now be expected, the total price of the new generation of weapons. Until now Defence Minister Georg Leber has withheld defence contracts. He said: "I want to know if our armed forces need these special vehicles or if cheaper vehicles would not do just as well. Standard commercial vehicles might be suitable and they are only half as expensive.

The ground that the Federal Republic arms industry could lose because of national restrictive policies will be made up partially by closer international cooperation. For some time the industry has concentrated on close cooperation with arms firms abroad.

Major Federal Republic firms such as MBB, VFW-Fokker, BMW, Dornier, AEG-Telefunken, MTU, Zeiss, Rheinmetall, Faun, Leitz, Porsche, Rheinstal-Henschel, Siemens and MAN have secured contracts to supply Nato to a total value of fifty milliard Marks.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 8 June 1973)



The Alpha-Jet, a Franco-German development (Photo: dpa)

Speedboats with rockets for the Bundesmarine

Speedboats of the Bundesmarine are to be equipped with rockets. The first speedboat to have this equipment mounted was handed over to the Bundesmarine at Flensburg recently at the fleet headquarters.

Forty speedboats fitted with conventional weapons are to be replaced as quickly as possible. It is proposed to provide the Bundesmarine with ten hydrofoils of the type that have been developed in America.

The Defence Ministry White Paper issued last year pointed out that the Bundesmarine was badly in need of missiles. The three destroyers fitted with rockets recently obtained from the USA have helped fill this gap. The speedboats, used to protect coastal waters and bar the Baltic, are part of this policy.

Thirty old vessels of the Jaguar class are involved. They were built by the Kroger shipyards, Rendsburg between 1956 and 1962. Twenty of them will be replaced by the new 148, completion of the contract is to be effected by November 1974. Ten other vessels of the larger 143 class, fitted with electronic equipment, conceived as command vessels, are to be supplied thereafter.

In October 1970 a contract was signed with a French shipyard in Cherbourg for 20 speedboats equipped with missiles. Each of these vessels is to be filled with four missiles of the MM 38 type, having a range of 38 kilometres. These are ship-to-ship rockets of the Exocet type, that are very accurate and when fired travel low across the sea undetectable by radar.

The new speedboat 148 will be equipped with antiaircraft weapons of 76 mm and 40 mm caliber. The boats will be able to cruise at 77 kph.

The Federal Republic fleet is not involved in a world role . . . The Federal Republic fleet is committed under Nato and along with the Danes to protect the Baltic coastline as far as Bornholm.

When the first 148, the S 41, was delivered from Cherbourg Vice-Admiral Paul Hartwig said: "The vessel will enable to navy to fulfill its role more efficiently."

The S 41 is bigger than the vessels it is replacing but thanks to its electronic devices abroad does not need extra crewmen, in fact ever fewer.

The Jaguar class vessels the 148s are replacing were 185 tons with a crew of 42. The new 148 has four diesel motors producing 14,400 hp and needs only a crew of thirty.

Lore Lorenzen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 June 1973)

Continued from page 4

prepared to conclude that the priest shortage was being solved in this way.

Past experience has demonstrated that most of the newcomers prefer the profession of lay theologian to that of priest. The only Church without a shortage of new blood was the Evangelical Church in Württemberg. Many young people in that area see the social commitment of priests as a duty relevant to the modern age.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 June 1973)

■ THE ECONOMY

1973 budget will only heat up the economy

DIE ZEIT

The 1973 budget became law on 20 June. Nobody talks any more of the financial chaos that was predicted by the Opposition as recently as the election campaign last November.

But no one is particularly happy with this budget either. The government and its supporters are disappointed that it does virtually nothing to "expand the public corridor" and the Opposition and its sympathisers are discontented because they view the budget as a source of inflation.

At a volume of 120.4 milliard Marks the Federal budget regulates something more than two-fifths of all public expenditure. The responsibility for the rest lies with the Federal state Finance Ministries and the borough treasurers' offices.

But since the central government is responsible for economic and monetary policy it is legitimate to ask the question whether the government has really "acted in a way that is in the highest degree detrimental to the industrial sector of the economy and likely to fuel the fires of inflation" – as the Opposition maintains.

The Opposition's criticism was fired by the government statement that the volume of the 1973 budget represented an increase of only 9.7 per cent over actual expenditure last year.

With a predicted growth in gross national product of 12.6 per cent, the government concludes, the increase in the budget will be economically neutral.

The Opposition bases its calculations on the predictions of the Five Wise Men and states that when the latent budgets are taken into account along with the various manipulations of statistics the level of public spending will in fact be up by thirteen per cent. This is almost three times as high as the probable net increase in the gross national product, according to the CDU economics expert Herr Leicht.

The government is measuring the growth of the level of public spending on the growth rate of nominal national product. It is thereby following a guideline set by the EEC Council of Ministers.

Nevertheless this procedure is dubious, since it involves the State's making a calculation that is based on another calculation, which comes to almost thirty per cent by government expenditure. The Opposition for its part is not afraid of making a comparison between the nominal growth rate of public expenditure and the real growth of GNP.

Both procedures do not lead far. It is essential to read between the percent signs. The Opposition maintains the government is pulling the wool over people's eyes by not entering regular expenses in the budget calculations. By this they mean the 2,500 million Mark subsidies the government has to pay to social insurance, sums which have been frozen without interest.

They also mean the thousands of millions from hospital finance legislation and the 660 million Marks demanded by the Society for Public Works (Oeffa) which was given the job of autobahn building and the 300 million Mark demands for the Saar mines.

If these figures are to be included with the budget for 1973 in all fairness one must also consider the volume of the comparative budget of 1972, and make the necessary adjustment upwards. Then one arrives at a considerably lower rate of increase than the thirteen per cent calculated by the Opposition.

Yet with regard to economic neutrality these sums are virtually of no importance. Taking into account such expenditure as hospital financing and replacing the credit grants to third parties by direct State subsidies there would be a fomal increase in governmant expenditure. But as far as the demand for goods and the claims on the capital market are concerned nothing would change. The frozen subsidies for pension insurance must not be subject to interest and they will only mature in 1980. So as far as 1973 is concerned they are not "suppressed" government expenditure.

Admittedly all these factors belong in the box of tricks with which many a finance minister has kept the budget low. The Oeffa demand has not been included in the budget since 1953. The frozen subsidies to pension insurance – 1973 is not the first time payment of them has been deferred – are a bone of contention within the SPD as well.

But at the Federal Finance Ministry there is a practical, political justification given for this procedure – pension insurance has such a layer of fat to project it that a further increase of funds would only tend to lead to new social welfare experiments.

Hospital financing, finally, belongs in the regular budget, according to the coalition. But talk about doing away with these latent budgets has been talked for nigh on twenty years. The Brandt government really should decide to make the first steps in this direction.

The second major accusation made by the Opposition concems a promise made by the Cabinet in the stabilisation programme of 9 May. The government planned to axe borough council expenditure of 330 million Marks, jointly financed by the Federal states, and to cut all expenditure that was not demanded by law by five per cent with a view to saving 700 million Marks.

The Opposition wanted to cut the 330 million and to put a reduced sum in the budget for the 700 million. The government however only won through as far as cutting Community expenditure – with the same amount applying in 1973 and an additional burden in 1974. As far as the 700 million are concerned the government wants a saving on this when the budget is put into practice. Each month there should be a report on how much has been saved, at the wishes of State Secretary Hermsdorf.

This is good, but everyone knows that self-imposed restrictions are often of benefit. A legally binding order for expenditure to be blocked is more effective than good intentions.

The Opposition quite rightly made this point the crux of their criticisms. Their weakness, however, lay in the fact that they too could not say which aspects of public expenditure should have been cut more drastically by the government. The CDU/CSU sought refuge in the system of universal cuts, which it has scomed so often in the past.

It was a great feat of Helmut Schmidt's to push through the basic data for the 1973 budget that had been decided upon in the middle of the election campaign at a later date when the new government had been formed.

In the face of the extra eight milliard Marks the ministries were demanding nobody really believed that Schmidt could keep to the level of 1200,400 million Marks that had been decided upon. He succeeded. After all no government can afford to change its Finance Minister every few months.

Economically neutral and good for stabilisation? Neither the excess of expenditure over revenue, that is to say the financing deficit, nor the changes to the volume of the budget give any clue to its effects on the economy. One must check how the financing deficit which has been cut by two milliard Marks differs from the so-called economically-neutral financing figure.

This shows that the 1973 budget will once again give a slight impulse towards expansion, determined largely by State expenditure on items such as growing personnel expenditure, fewer exployees but a better pay structure for them and the effects of the pensions laws.

The 1973 budget will not only heat up the economy by another slight degree, but it is at the same time a sin by the government against its own declared aim of stabilisation.

Rudolf Herlt

(Die Zeit, 22 June 1973)

The 1973 Budget

Item	Millions of DM	Incr[illegible]
Federal President's office	9.9	[illegible]
Bundestag	202.3	[illegible]
Bundesrat	7.5	[illegible]
Federal Chancellor's office	273.4	[illegible]
Foreign Office	1,058.7	[illegible]
Interior Ministry	1,960.1	[illegible]
Justice Ministry	207.8	[illegible]
Finance Ministry	1,666.0	[illegible]
Economic Affairs Ministry	2,196.0	[illegible]
Food, Agriculture and Forests Ministry	5,451.2	[illegible]
Labour and Social Affairs	22,594.7	[illegible]
Transport Ministry	16,524.0	[illegible]
Posts and Telecommunications Ministry	404.2	[illegible]
Defence Ministry	26,423.3	[illegible]
Youth, Family Affairs and Health Ministry	3,826.5	[illegible]
Federal Constitutional Court	6.5	[illegible]
Federal Audit Office	22.9	[illegible]
Economic Cooperation Ministry	2,799.2	[illegible]
Town and Country Planning	3,526.4	[illegible]
Intra-German Relations Ministry	393.6	[illegible]
Research and Technology Ministry	3,137.0	[illegible]
Education and Science Ministry	3,376.7	[illegible]
National Debt	3,963.1	[illegible]
Social Welfare	4,856.1	[illegible]
Defence Debts	798.5	[illegible]
Civil Defence	374.7	[illegible]
other items	14,178.6	[illegible]
Total 1973 Budget	120,236.2	[illegible]

Government spending increases

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Private consumer spending is growing at a slower rate than government spending, according to figures presented by an interministerial committee for economic development dealing with 1973.

The figures show that when consumer spending of workers and managements was up by 10.9 per cent. State spending rose by 13.5 per cent.

Total investment in plant is expected to increase by 12 per cent while public investments will again be higher at 13.4 per cent up. The increase in GNP is estimated at 12.6 per cent by the committee.

According to experts these figures underbine the fect that additional measures to cut private consumer activities are not sufficient to keep prices in check. Measures affecting other spheres of consumer spending are required.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 27 June 1973)

Consumer demand will continue until 1974



The industrial economic boom has developed such momentum that a run on production potential is expected to last well into next year, according to the Ifo economic Institute, Munich.

Even if it is possible to curb investments the capital investment goods industry will still be under a heavy pressure of demand which will only gradually abate.

One specific reason for predicting this development is that demand from overseas remains high and will be so unless there is a significant change in monetary policies.

Ifo estimates that the growth of industrial productivity in 1974 as dictated by demand will be considerably weaker than this year.

(Die Welt, 12 June 1973)

Net incomes have quadrupled since 1950

The average net income in the Federal Republic over the years from 1950 to 1970 has quadrupled. During the same period the number of private households increased by fifty per cent, according to a survey that has been carried out by the Federal Republic Institute for economic research (DIW), West-Berlin.

According to the institute's experts in 1970 a Federal Republic household had coming in on average 1,581 Marks. In 1950 this was 357 Marks.

Since 1960 the incomes of self-employed people has increased markedly more so than other social groups. By 1970 self-employed income had risen to [illegible] Marks per month. During the same period a worker's pay packet had only increased by on average 800 Marks.

Taxes levied on wages and salaries were in 1950, 4.6 per cent. By 1970 this had risen to 11.4 per cent. Deductions for social welfare during the same period had risen from eight per cent to eleven per cent.

Taxes levied on businesses had during the same period decreased from 21 per cent to twenty, usually because of degressive depreciation and allowances for investment in plant and machinery.

In 1950 four-fifths of all households had a monthly net income of less than [illegible] Marks. As a result of the above-average increase in the number of households with pensioners in the period covered by the report the income most commonly drawn in 1970 was 539 Marks. Half of all families received less than 1,230 Marks a month in 1970 according to DIW.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 June 1973)

■ THE ECONOMY

Monopolies Commission swoops down on price-fixing in building trade

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

It was major coup by a relatively minor body. Recently about twenty of the 200 or so officials of the Federal Monopolies Commission (Kartellamt) and about 500 carefully trained crime squad officers searched the business premises of building companies and four building trade associations in 141 towns. A raid of this kind is unprecedented in the fifteen-year history of the Monopolies Commission.

There must have been massive grounds for suspicion before such a national authority would launch such a spectacular offensive. Monopolies authorities have had their suspicions about the building trade for some years now – they believe that about 2,000 building firms have organised "price fixing" of varying degrees on a more than local basis.

The cartel authorities believe that in North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Bremen und Hesse in particular firms have been engaged in "an organised price fixing scheme" since the monopolies laws were passed in 1958. These fixed prices hit at public building projects in particular.

The first concrete indications of such price arranging came to light in March during searches of offices. These gave rise to the latest series of searches and confiscations. The *Kartellamt* has stated that this latest series of searches threw up material which has hardened the suspicions the authorities already entertained.

Many of the firms concerned had had prior warning. A court in NRW sent the firms five search and confiscation warrants ten days before the swoop. Obviously stern disciplinary action is called for since without doubt the investigations of a Federal authority are being undermined in this manner.

Allegations raised by the Monopolies Commission have not yet been substantiated. No company has been proved guilty.

According to the Statistics Year Book house prices rose by 59 per cent and the prices for other buildings by 62.4 per cent between 1962 and 1971. The general rise in the cost of living in the same period was only half as much, namely 30.4 per cent. Rents increased in the same period by 73 per cent, largely because of the rising costs of building and repair work.

Although these figures are more likely to be below the mark than exaggerated, on account of statistical inaccuracies, the layman can see quite clearly where the emphasis lies in the inflationary situation.

The *Bundeskartellamt* has been keeping a weather eye on price developments on the building market for some time. Repeatedly it has expressed its concern about the so-called building market statistics, which make price fixing easier than it might otherwise be. The monopolies authorities have questioned builders and wagged their warning finger in the past.

In March 1972 the monopolies inspectors attached to Federal state governments and the Monopolies Commission produced a joint statement to the effect that there were widespread cases of price fixing in the building trade. They said: "Such measures to curb competitiveness are part of the growing cancer of white-collar crime with growing consequences to the detriment of society which the general public has come to appreciate."

So far the Monopolies Commission has not been able to nab those in the building trade who are out to stifle free competitiveness, the reason being a peculiarity of this branch of the economy. Building firms work for the most part in a confined sphere – in towns, in country boroughs, or in a certain Federal state. For this reason the national Monopolies Commission is not the competent watchdog, but rather the Federal state monopolies authorities, which are subordinated to the Economic Affairs Ministry or the Economics Senate Department of the state in question.

It is only because of suspicions that firms from many Federal states have been involved in widespread price fixing that the Berlin-based *Bundeskartellamt* has been able to step in.

In recent years there have been several cases in which price fixing on a Federal state plane have been unearthed and judgment passed. On many occasions the fines heaped on the building firms in questions topped the 100,000 Mark level. All spheres of the building trade are affected by such agreements. Criminal activity and cast-iron cases of cartel forming have been discovered in the construction of schools, roads, tunnels harbours and airports, as well as other construction work.

The procedure for arranging prices has remained unchanged for years. It has been established for so long that it is difficult to believe that the cartels that have so far been smashed were isolated cases and not the tip of an iceberg.

Building contracts are usually put up for tender to a certain section of the building trade, or issued publicly, that is to say thrown open for all-comers. Each submits its tender. But if a cartel exists the firms get together and decide among themselves who will get the contract. The "lucky" firm submits its tender, which is way above a normal level. The other firms submit even higher tenders.

The cheapest gets the contract, even though his prices is inflated beyond all proportion. Generally speaking the firm works out what a fair tender would be then adds ten per cent! But there was one case that came to light where the "surcharge" was 88 per cent over the normal level!

When a cartel has been in existence for a length of time its procedures become refined. They do not always bargain for which of the firms is to make the "lowest" tender. They work out fixed quotations according to the size of the company. The firm which has received the fewest contracts according to his latest quotations is selected to get the next contract going. This firm then submits the most attractive tender.

The building market statistics help to bolster the crooked system. In themselves these statistics are not evil. The building trade claims that they are designed to make a clear view of the whole complicated building market easier to obtain.

The strange thing about these statistics and the registrations centres of the building trade which issue them is not just that building firms are informed in arrears about all market data and prices. As investigations carried out by the Monopolies Commission have shown the building companies are not interested in knowing. What is more interesting is the first two phases of the compilation of statistics.

These are the reports by a building firm to the registration office that it plans to submit tenders for a certain project and the report back by the registration centre to all companies that intend to submit a tender.

In this way each building firm knows exactly who its rivals are. This makes the formation of a cartel much easier. When the central association of the building trade maintains that the Monopolies Commission has ruled that the building market statistics are compatible with the provisions of monopolies legislation it is a half truth. In a summary of this report the *Kartellamt* stated in 1967: "Building statistics as at present issued are a constant, general and considerable danger for competitiveness on the building trade. But according to the Federal Monopolies Commission this is not against the interests of the general public.

Usually price fixing in the building trade only comes to light through chance. One letter arranging price fixing was wrongly addressed and came into the hands of a government body. A note book with incriminating figures was accidentally left lying in a building authority office.

One builder visiting a building firm discovered the excessive price arranged by their cartel. One official who had got wind of a price fixing arrangement attempted to blackmail the members of the cartel. They cut their losses and informed the police.

In the states of Lower Saxony, Hamburg and Bremen alone 2,592 cases of price fixing were discovered covering the years 1955 and 1956. These included more than 1,500 cases involving public works contracts. More than 500 firms were prosecuted at that time. In Hof and Nuremberg in 1963 a cartel was smashed that had been in operation since 1955 if not earlier.

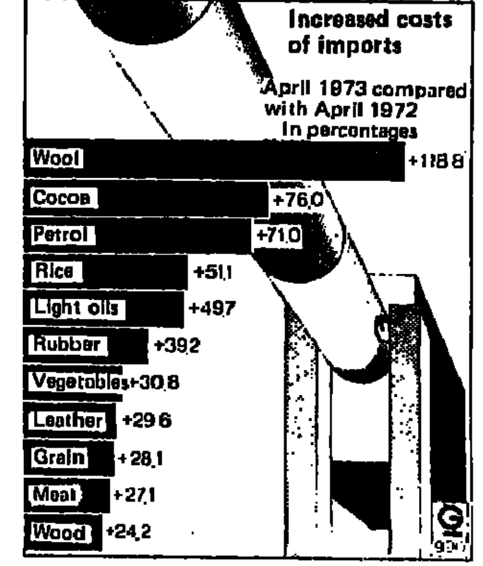
But this cartel was a good example of the fact that building price fixing does not only go against the law. When public works are concerned it is a question of rooking the taxpayer. And cartels are damaging to society. The authorities in Hof discovered that it was because of the cartel's scheme for pushing up prices that no council housing scheme had been possible in the town.

Berlin's senator for building recently stated that the city was setting up a prices watchdog committee to get to grips with excessive building prices.

The rent of a flat is 25 per cent higher in Berlin than in Munich, and Munich is not noted for its cheapness.

Joachim Nawrocki

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1973)



Rocketing raw material prices upset stability measures

Imported goods that were once a boon in that they helped keep prices down are now sinners themselves where prices are concerned. The HWWA Institute for Economic Research in Hamburg stated in its latest report that the considerable increase in the price of many imported foodstuffs is helping to push up the cost of living still further.

At the same time the price of raw materials for industrial processes has rocketed and is having a direct influence on the soaring overheads in manufacturing industries.

Between April 1972 and April 1973 imported goods went up in price by about fourteen per cent on average. The worst offender was wool. It more than doubled in the year. Foodstuffs such as vegetables, grain and meat increased by "only" thirty per cent or so.

The increase in the price of raw materials which began in 1971 continued apace from the middle of last year. On a dollar basis the price level on the industrial raw materials market – based on the HWWA index – rose by 41 per cent since July 1972 alone. This is the steepest increase since the Korean War.

HWWA blames the increase on raw-material prices on accelerated rates of economic growth with the consequent increase in requirements of raw materials in the West. A major factor HWWA claim was alterations in manufacturer's stock piles.

The favourable development of the economy all over the world caused producers to throw to the winds the caution they had been exercising as late as 1971.

The urge to stockpile materials for a rainy day came frome Japan and led to speculative purchases of raw materials. Nobody expected such a steep world market price rise for raw materials.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 5 June 1973)

Europe's 2nd largest brewery combine

Hamburger Abendblatt

The merger of Dortmunder Union Brewery and Berlin's Schultheiss which, applied from 1 July 1972, has meant that the new brewery giant with an annual output of 10.7 million hectolitres has become Europe's second largest brewers combine.

Chairman of the Board Herr Sixtus, speaking in Berlin, stressed that before the merger could be described as ideal there were still things to be done in terms of joint distribution and streamlining of the range of products.

Regional beer tastes must be taken into account, he said.

There are eighty companies with shares in the Dortmund-Berlin beer linkup. DUB drew their balance sheet up on 31 December, Schultheiss on 30 September, and so the final figures issued are for a rump trading year from the time the merger took effect to the end of 1972, that is to say for six months.

Shareholders did not receive dividends in the residual months before the merger took effect, and for the rump half-year they will receive a 5-Mark dividend on fifty-Mark shares and 7.50 Marks special bonus.

Herr Sixtus thinks the company should intensify its export drive. He said that if a "fat fish" of a brewery is on the market the major concern will be sure to bid for it.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 June 1973)

■ **SHIPPING**

Everyone jumps on flags of convenience bandwaggon

Three and a half million tons of merchant shipping have been sold abroad and for the most part reregistored under flags of convenience over the past five years.

Last year alone 354 ocean-going vessels totalling 1.5 million GRT were sold to foreign owners. *At least half of them*, and probably more, have in reality merely swapped ensigns.

The most substantial turncoat is Lübeck shipowner Egon Oldendorf, who runs this country's second largest dry-cargo freighter fleet.

Oldendorf, whose main sector is tramp shipping, in which rates and profits are largely determined by the state of the market, started up a new firm in Liberia and sold it his entire fleet of merchantmen.

Since the transfer Oldendorf has, on paper at least, maintained only a branch office, an agency representing the Liberian firm in this ountry, in the picturesque Baltic port of Lübeck.

Oldendorf is a private shipowner from a port hard by the frontier between the Federal Republic and the GDR. The more tradition-conscious longer-established lines in Hamburg and Bremen long disdained the very idea of transferring to anything so vulgar as a flag of convenience.

A dozen years or so ago Hapag of Hamburg and Norddeutscher Lloyd of Bremen cheerfully supported the International Dock Workers' Federation's boycott of vessels flying the ensigns of Panama, Honduras, Liberia and Costa Rica.

Nowadays the management of Hapag-Lloyd, who have meanwhile merged, intimate that under certain conditions even an internationlly-reputed shipping line might have no option but to transfer to a flag of convenience in order to run ageing ships at a profit. Transferring can prove a profitable proposition provided a careful choice is taken, merchant shipping in this country having for years been on the horns of an income-expenditure dilemma that has made it virtually impossible to operate older vesdels at a profit.

In 1969 and 1970 shipowners concluded wage agreements boosting wage costs by roughly fifty per cent. At the same time berthing charges and other items of inevitable expenditure such as heating oil spiralled all over the world.

To crown it all, in 1970 domestic shipowners were confronted with new manpower regulations compelling them to take on 25 men where before they had managed with eighteen.

This represented an additional twenty-five per cent on staff costs – and that at a juncture when freight rates were plummeting. Even longstanding shipowners with deep roots in the old country began to toy woth the idea of beating a retreat.

What is more, the aid programme for many ships built in the fifties had come to an end and owners were able to transfer them to another country without forfeiting subsidies and special depreciation allowances on the strength of which merchant tonnage had been replenished in the post-war years.

In 1965 a mere 37 ships with an overall tonnage of 115,000 GRT swapped ensigns. Two years later the tonnage had doubled and the number of vessels increased to sixty-eight. By 1970 exactly 100 freighters with a total tonnage of 450,000 waved the old country goodbye.

Their destinations were the cut-rate home ports of Panama, Monrovia and Singapore. With twenty million tons of shipping on its books Liberia has long headed the league tables, nominally that is.

In 1971 the transfer to flags of convenience assumed alarming proportions, though; 277 vessels with between them 1.1 million GRT took their leave, followed last year by 354 ships with a total of 1.5 million tons and the trend continuing to increase.

"Every month one per cent of the merchant navy transfers to a flag of convenience," owner Hermann Helms of Bremen's Hansa Line fulminated as president of the shipowners' association.

The latest country to which shipping is transferred is no longer at some *far-flung* comer of the world. It is the land of Jason and the Argonauts, the Colonels' Greece.

In 1968 Greek Premier Papadopoulos, determined to gain international kudos regardless of the cost, stripped to a minimum the tax burden on ships flying the Greek ensign. This ruling also applied to the Greek subsidiaries of overseas shipping companies.

Hamburg-Süd, a name redolent of tradition in German shipping circles and a company taken over none too many years ago by foodstuffs magnate Rudolf August Oetker in order to cut his tax losses, sold its two large modern tankers *St Michaelis* and *St Petri* to Greek owner Kolokotronis -- along with three dozen other freighters.

Kolokotronis' fellow-countryman Dimitri Chandris snapped up the 32,000-tom liner *Bremen*, the passenger falgship of another major line, from Hapag-Llloyd and is now running it on Caribbean cruises under the impressive name *Regina Magna*, earning tax-free dollars in the process.

Piraeus shippers have now worked out how to manage matters. The first step is to set up a letterhead firm in the longstanding tax-haven Panama, where all are welcome. The new company has a Greek-sounding name and the owner anxious to make a move sells his fleet to the Panama firm.

This pseudo-Greek armada from North America or other European countries is then part-sold to a Piraeus partner who then has it entered into the Greek shipping register.

"The Ministry," *Der Spiegel* complained, "then conducts a perfunctory check to see that 51 per cent of the new company is Greek-owned."

Greece's current policy is proving so successful as seriously to jeopardise Liberia's position at the top of the tonnage table. In the meantime the merchant tonnage flying the Greek flag is fast approaching the magic figure of twenty million.

Hapag-Lloyd is transferring its fifties-built freighter on the Far East run to Hong Kong. British and American companies have developed a liking for Singapore. A number of Mediterranean islands have now also joined the league.

Archbishop Makarios' Cyprus has welcomed Ulrich Harms of this country and his Transnavis line, providing him with the blessings of generaous tax estimates and cheap crews.

Crete too is wondering whether it might not join the broad-line. Crete is, when all is said and done, Europe's oldest shipping power, and the local worthies are now seriously considering feathering their nest by means of becoming a tax haven for oreign shipowners in addition to being a repository of holidaymakers' foreign exchange.

The latest bidder is yet a third Mediterranean island that has benefited by breaking its ties with its former source if incoem. malta, the naval base from which Britain once controlled the Mediterranean, now also fancies its chances as a flag of convenience.

Ernst Willenbrock
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 24 June 1973)

Deutsche Atlantik Linie in trouble

Hanseatic shipowners, renowned for their good form and the souls of discretion, nonetheless invariably are conversant with the financial position of their competition.

"When one of us is in trouble," says Gilbert von Holtzapfel, manager of Deutsche Atlantik Linie, "the entire coastline knows the story inside out."

His two luxury liners *Hamburg* and *Hanseatic* are currently cruising into the red at an alarming nate.

Hapag-Lloyd of Bremen seemed to represent the answer to the Hamburg line's prayer, being the largest shipping firm in the country; but the proposal that the *Hamburg*, the *Hanseatic* and Hapag-Lloyd's *Europa* join forces has come at an awkward moment.

"We can only come to terms once Hapag-Lloyd's plans are finalised," Holtzapfel laments. But Hapag-Lloyd's ambitions in cruising remain veiled in secrecy.

They include the possible commissioning of two new cruisers, but according to Hapag-Lloyd director Horst Willner no decisions have yet been taken.

As a matter of principle Hapag-Lloyd are extremely interested in cruising, or so Willner claims. In practice difficulties soon arise.

At present the only passenger liner the company has on its bookd is the ageing *Europa*, "a charming old girl" (Willner) whose days are numbered.

Old-style luxury liners such as the *Europa* and the old *Hanseatic*, originally designed and built for operation on regular routes, are not ideally suited for the cruise business.

The old liners have too many trimmings and require too large a crew to run at a profit in this day and age despite their great and resounding names.

Now that the North Atlantic run is past history the one-time American, British, French and Italian flagships are only kept afloat by virtue of heavy subsidies and cruises. It is either that or rotting at their moorings.

For the cruise trade, a market with a future, according to Hapag-Lloyd, conventional luxury liners are dinosaurs on the ocean waves, though.

DIE ZEIT

The only ships likely to run at a profit in cruising are up-to-the-minute liners with a modicum of comfort and a minimum of crew.

Hapag-Lloyd plan to build two such ships at a cost of between 100 million and 140 million Marks each. But "as long as we are bound by Federal Republic wage-rates the idea is out of the question," Horst Willner claims.

Willner is asking the trade unions to exclude hotel and catering staff on the cruisers from seamen's wage agreements.

As regards Deutsche Atlantik Linie, Willner sees so need to take action at the present juncture. He has more than enough on his plate as it is.

What is more, of course, DAL supremo Axel Bitsch-Christensen left Hapag-Lloyd in the lurch in 1969, cancelling a cooperation agreement because he had worked out that more could be earned by going it alone on the high seas.

Bitsch-Christensen's reckoning was a risky business even in those days, and has since encountered the twin perils of market trends and spiralling costs. "With us they would have been as safe as houses," Willner counters.

It was apparent at the time that running two ocean liners without the backing of a large firm could hardly ... to be a risky business.

To crown it all, Bitsch-Christ... sailed close to the wind in financing 170 million Marks' worth of ocean ... the *Hanseatic* (erstwhile *Shalom*), bought in 1967, and the *Hamburg*, taken in service in 1969.

The two vessels were financed ... with the aid of loans backed by ... Federal government and the state ... Hamburg and partly by means ... million Marks raised by private inv... in the hope of tax gains.

But by 1970 Deutsche Atlantik L... was already suffering from a malady ... invariably besets projects of its kind ... shortage of capital.

The upshot was that private inves... had to agree to defer interest and cap... repayments on their loans, while ... Federal and state governments had ... extend the duration of their loans ... also agree to defer repayments.

Bitsch-Christensen's ships have so ... only made sufficient profit to ... home with the minimum necessary ... – sufficient to repay interest and cap... on government loans.

Wage increases and dollar devaluation ... are partly to blame, it must be ad... Earnings in the merchant navy today ... some seventy per cent higher than ... In 1968, for that matter, the dollar ... worth four Marks. Now it is worth ... 2.20 Marks.

Half the company's earnings are ... dollars. The *Hamburg* earns its ... almost exclusively on the US ... running cruises from California to the Far East at a good 10,000 Marks a time.

This year will be a tough one for ... *Hamburg*. In addition to the last ... devaluation there has been a decline ... the number of bookings.

Holtzapfel feels two factors ... blame. The one is surplus capacity ... by too many liners casting their ... US waters. The other is Watergate, ... has so upset Americans that they ... travelling as much as they used to ... least as far as cruises are concerned.

Yet the *Hamburg* is still felt ... shipping circles to be the better-placed ... the company's two liners. It is the ... major passenger vessel to be built in ... country since the war and was specifi... designed for both liner and cru... services.

Bitsch-Christensen failed to make ... particularly important change, tho... He planned the *Hamburg* for ... passengers and 400 crew. Modern cruise... are designed for 600 passengers to be served by a crew of 200.

"We could certainly find a use for ... luxury vessel," Horst Willner notes ... no one in particular in mind, ... providing, of course, that it is backed by the necessary organisation and a ... ship. Hapag-Lloyd have both.

Deutsche Atlantik Linie's second ship, the *Hanseatic*, does not enjoy such a good reputation. It is little more than ... old-style liner converted to cruiser.

Bitsch-Christensen would be well-advised to sell the *Hanseatic* before thinking in terms of further plans for the future, ... is rumoured.

Selling the ship would be a ... business for the shareholders, since the company is based on depreciation allowances and tax concessions.

Hard-boiled Hamburgers have another solution to offer. Insure her to the ... and burn her to the ground, they ... Unfortunately this is not the ... advice one can take to heart.

Rolf Diekhof
(Die Zeit, 22 June 1973)

■ THEATRE

James Joyce's only play *Exiles* staged in Berlin

DIE WELT

Your play is no good for the stage, author Ezra Pound wrote to author James Joyce in 1915. He was referring to *Exiles*, the only play Joyce ever wrote. The manuscript lay in a drawer for four years before it was performed in Munich. But this production had as little success as a later production in New York and the latest attempt to put on the play in Berlin.

This remarkably complicated psychological drama had not been seen on stage for many decades before Harald Pinter produced it in London three years ago. As a psychological dramatist himself, Pinter was able to strike the right note.

But the essence of the play was not brought out in Willi Schmidt's Berlin production. The longer the play lasted, the less convincing it became. The stage design, also Schmidt's responsibility, set the mood well, however.

Joyce's *Exiles*, written between 1913 and 1915, is largely autobiographical. Richard Brown, a writer, and his mistress Berta can easily be recognised as Joyce and his lover Nora Banacle. In the play, as in real life, the woman accompanies her lover into exile. The only difference is that Joyce anticipated in his play a return to Dublin, a journey Joyce himself never made.

The homecoming is bitter. Rowan has been chosen to take over a chair in Romance literature. His best friend, journalist Robert Hand, plans to support him but he pays more attention to Berta, whom he wishes to add to his list of conquests.

The fourth in this game of mixed doubles is Beatrice, a piano teacher who once had a liaison with Robert but now loves Richard. This is enough to arouse pangs of jealousy in Berta.

As far as the basic situation is concerned, there should be plenty of material for dramatic conflict. But the play is spoilt for the stage by its analytical elements, its almost neurotic attempt to analyse the contradictory facets of the psyche right down to the smallest detail.

Nothing concrete ever happens. *Exiles* is a play of ideas which plays with possiblities and expends itself in self-tormenting dialogues. On top of this, the intricate thought processes James Joyce puts into Richard Rowan's mouth have no dramatic effect. The stream of consciousness, the rapidly changing ambivalences of the soul and the reflexion of the one in the other can hardly be represented in dramatic form.

The play always cries out for comparison with Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* But the flesh and blood of Albee's dramas is replaced in *Exiles* by a state of paralysed inhibition. The characters are too concerned with themselves to undertake any independent action.

Anyone remembering Erich Schellow in the Albee production staged in the same Schlosspark Theater will realise that he does not succeed as Richard Rowan, that he falsely tries to interpret the sarcasm of this role with occasional Mephistopelian foot-scraping.

Luitgard Im is unfortunately miscast as Berta. An actress with her charisma of intelligence can hardly be convincing in a role demanding complete feminity and maternity.

Berta, whose name conceals the word "earth" as the skiful translator Klaus Reichort points out, demands less intelligence and more simple existence. Luitgard Im would have been better as Beatrice, though Christa Rosenbach played this role adequately.

The only figure cast and performed correctly was Robert Hand. Rolf Schult had the sensual, conceited and daredevil temperament demanded by the role and was able to give the play some colour. The final curtain was greeted with some applause and a little booing.

Lucie Schauer

(Die Welt, 18 June 1973)



A scene from the production of James Joyce's *Exiles* in Berlin

(Photo: Ilse Buhs)



A scene from Palitzsch's production of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*

(Photo: Günter Englert)

Palitzsch's production of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* proves weak

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* is the first Classical play Peter Palitzsch has produced at the Frankfurt Schauspielhaus. With his bright, clear almost comic production of the tragedy Palitzsch had continued the trend begun by Hans Neuenfels with his version of Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* and *Nora* – the depiction of woman's almost hopeless position in a bourgeois society governed by conventions, virtue and male privilege.

The dramatic idea behind these interpretations of old plays is similar to that in Cologne. The past is spotlighted and the roots of conditions today are traced.

Perhaps it was no more than a coincidence that the stage design for *Emilia Galotti* was reminiscent of that of Neuenfels' production of *Nora*. The broad window in the background of the earlier production was replaced during the scenes at Dosalo Palace by a large double-door. Palitzsch also seems to have been stimulated by Neuenfels' choreography. Hildegard Schmahl in the role of Countess Orsina, Prince of Guastalla's abandoned mistress, sweeps across stage as though she were part of a Neuenfels production.

To this extent the production suggests links that could form a theatrical style. But Palitzsch also had to compete with Fritz Kortner's production of *Emilia Galotti* at Vienna in 1970 which came to Germany shortly after his death. The comparison does not flatter Palitzsch.

Like Palitzsch does now, Kortner [illegible]tti family's sense of honour which leads them to accept an ideology preferring virtuous death to dishonour, even though Emilia willingly allowed herself to be seduced.

But whereas Kortner allows Lessing's drama to remain effective as a play that has been lived and felt Palitzsch's production seems to be stilted and contrived, despite its excellent arrangement and appropriate conception.

An eighteenth-century bourgeois like Ernst Jacobi's Father Galotti cannot be explained by turning him into a caricature. The negative view taken of the inhibited petty bourgeoisie does not excuse Marinelli, the string-puller who wishes to help the Prince conquer Emilia with all the murderous means at his disposal. In this production Chamberlain

Continued on page 11

A master of ballet – John Cranko

Stuttgart Ballet Ensemble's triumph in New York, the international ballet capital, was the last success John Cranko was able to chalk up. On the return flight across the Atlantic he had heart trouble and an emergency landing in Dublin came too late to save his life.

Cranko was born in Rustenburg, South Africa, in 1927. After his first ballet studies in Cape Town he went to Sadler's Wells School in London in [illegible] leaving a year later to devote himself completely to choreography. He was just twenty.

In 1961 the Württembergische Staatstheater in Stuttgart appointed him the director of ballet. It did not take him long to help the ensemble rise above its position as just another German ballet company and attein an international reputati[on].

The ensemble has toured the world since Cranko took over. It has been a regular guest in New York since 1969 and made its first trip to Leningrad and Moscow in 1972. Its tours have always brought the greatest recognition to Cranko's work.

Cranko, an ideal director of ballet, was more than a choreographic genius. Apart from occasional minor storms, there was a good working climate at the Stuttgart ballet. There was genuine team spirit and an ungrudging camaraderie that is rare in ballet circles.

It was only by creating this unique atmosphere that Cranko was able to achieve the meteoric rise of the Stuttgart ballet ensemble. Cranko was also able to interest the cultural bureaucracy and the Stuttgart theatre direction in his work, thus providing another important basis for the ensemble's success.

John Cranko

(Photo: Hannes [illegible])

Cranko attracted the public with popular full-length ballets, not with the established classics like *Swan Lake* but new works such as *Eugene Onegin*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Carmen*.

These works provided the best [illegible] for Cranko's talents in the [illegible] dramatic choreography – ballet in the wake of drama. Cranko's ballets were never boring, anaemic or stale. They were always full of energy, the will [illegible] abundance of movement and, where it was present, humour. They were based on the tacit and fortunate understanding between Cranko, his ensemble and audience.

The grief surrounding Cranko's death intermingled with the confusion [illegible] what is to happen in Stuttgart [illegible] death was the only disaster that could have affected ballet in the Federal Republic.

Reinhard Beuth

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 June 1973)

■ THE ART WORLD

Exhibition of political posters in Essen

Success with the public could come to this exhibition at the Deutsches Plakat Museum in Essen without doubt, since it is filled with brightly coloured treats for the eye and many outstanding individual achievements. About 2,500 posters from 42 countries are on show.

The series begins with Lyons' series of posters dedicated to Napoleon I and stretches from there to the mocking poster on Presidential candidate Richard Milhous Nixon: "He kept our boys out of Ulster."

However, the didactic possibilities of such a broad-ranging presentation of political posters was unfortunately for the most part thrown away. The material is laid out according to countries and chronologically, but the visitor is given little guidance to what it is all about. He is left largely to his own devices.

There is no guidebook, commenting on the types and trends of posters put together in a short and sharp way. And the textual material of the beautifully printed and highly expensive catalogue with its 110 colour reproductions does not help the visitor much either.

Apart from a few very general remarks on the exhibition and historical sources for the political poster the catalogue is for the most part a vaguely put together *tour d'horizon* of the political poster from the olden days to Mao Tse-tung with a spicing of quotations.

What is lacking is an overall concept going beyond the pure selection into counties and chronological order. Heinz Kühn, the premier of North Rhine-Westphalia who is patron to the exhibition praises the "more or less random intermingling of countries and political opposites", but this alone is not enough to provide a "substantial contribution towards political education", as Herr Kühn had hoped.

It would have been far more fruitful to group the posters according to their outstanding points of view – for example, war propaganda (at home and abroad), election propaganda, national and international days of celebration or remembrance, economic propaganda (five-year plans and industrialisation in the East Bloc, unemployment and poverty following thr First World War, et cetera) or from more recent times the theme of environmental conservation, which is represented by some excellent examples in Essen.

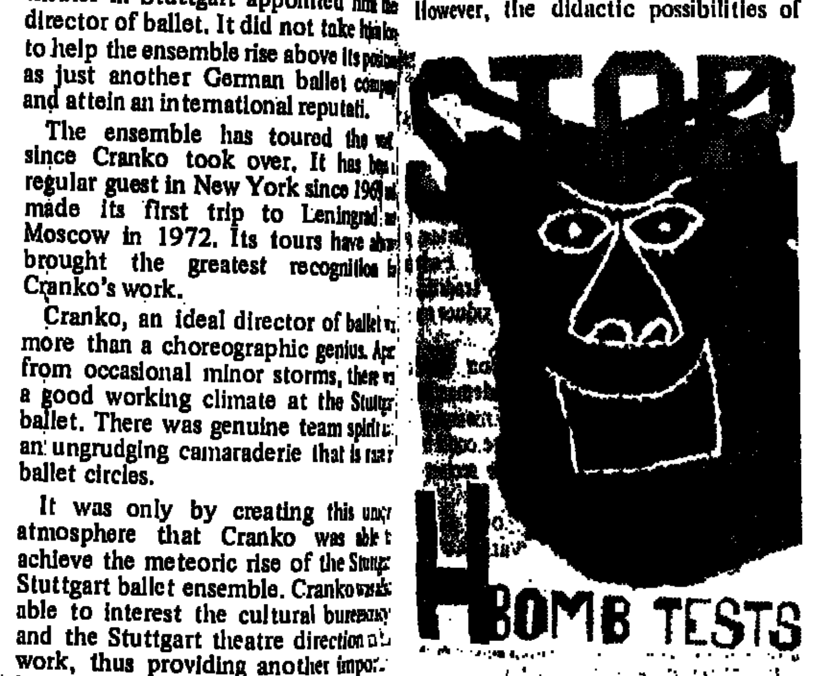
Such a presentation, well labelled to show dates, figures, facts and the country of origin as well as the political and economic background to the poster, would have made fruitful comparisons much easier. Now the visitor must make a great effort to carry out such comparative studies.

The manner in which the Plakatmuseum has presented this exhibition in conjunction with the Federal Archives (Koblenz) excites only superficial comparisons on the formal development of the poster as art. This is particularly clear in the examples from the USSR with the changes from the artistically high-flown revolutionary posters to the products of the Heroic style of Socialist Realism.

Despite this criticism the exhibition is well worth a visit for the wealthe of material on show.

Hartwig Suhrbier

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 June 1973)



Ben Shan's anti-H-bomb poster done in 1960

(Photos: Katalog)



Abel Faivre's *On les aura* painted in 1916

Continued from page 10

Marinelli is played by Werner Schwuchow as a mere bewigged court official.

The conception behind the production is convincing but Palitzsch ignores the fatal consistency contained in the play. When Odoardo stabs Emilia at the end after many diversions and artifical delays this is depicted as more of an accident than the gruesome outcome of a moral doctrine exaggerated to inhumane proportions.

But the production is important as it abandons the usual smooth Classical style. One interesting feature is that the Galottis are acted by more or less young actors. Tanja von Oertzen as Emilia is almost helplessly childlike and it never becomes completely obvious what prompts the Prince's brutal lust for her. Compassion would have been more in keeping.

Rainer Hartmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 June 1973)



Canoletto painting of Warsaw in 1776

Kiel's tribute to Warsaw – a city with a sense of history

Demands of various generations have changed the face of our cities. Once unmistakable silhouettes disappeared during the last War to be replaced by an anonymous architecture that was the alter ego of the profit motive.

To live in such cities it is essential to keep repeating to oneself the name of the place – otherwise one might forget completely where one was.

A dozen of the best old citysoapes is on show at present in the Kiel Kunsthalle as part of the Kiel Regatta week. Twelve of the famous Warsaw *Veduta* by Bernardo Bellotto (born 1720 in Venice, died 1780 in Warsaw), a pupil of Canaletto, are on exhibition. These are twelve milestones in European *Veduta* painting. And they are twelve views that modernity has not passed and shrugged its shoulders at.

The series begins with the panoramic view of Warsaw from the suburb of Praga over the Vistula (1770). We see the city on the river stretching to the horizon, a miracle of architecture and Nature. There is a massive spiral of cloud in the evening sky with the facades lit up from the horizon. Below we see the peacefully flowing stream with its reflective upper surface reproducing the beauty of the city. This panorama gives way to pictures showing individual streets, squares, churches and palaces. Not only do we see the detailed reproduction of architectural memorials, but also the pulsing picture of a living city. The squares, streets, promenades groan under the weight of coaches, the facades echo the clatter of galloping hooves. This is Warsaw. This is 1770. The fact that Warsaw, 200 years later, still appears in all its old splendour is a twentieth century fairytale and something that could give us in West Germany an object lesson. Warsaw was completely destroyed in the War. It was not just a chance victim in a pointless war. Its destruction was cold calculated and horrific. Hitler's command was that Warsaw should be eradicated. Its agonies began in 1939. With the destruction on Warsaw a whole people, an entire history, a whole tradition was to be erased.

When the first clearing-up operations began in 1945 after the liberation of Warsaw the Poles were faced with a hugh heap of rubble, a desert of débris. The historical picture of Warsaw seemed lost forever. Yet the Poles shook off the resignation for which they could have been excused.

Despite all the counter-claims of utilitarianism they decided that Warsaw should be rebuilt as Warsaw. It was a political decision, they did not confine themselves to the reconstruction of certain architecturally or historically important buildings, a compromise solution that found particular favour in the Federal Republic, but began with the total reconstruction of the historical old town and then worked outwards towards the new Warsaw, re-creating a city whose beginnings were in the fifteenth century.

Reconstruction of the architecture was a demonstration. It symbolised the complete re-creation of Warsaw's history. It is a respectful recognition of the achievements of past generations.

Professor Stanislaw Lorentz, the Curator of the Warsaw National Gallery, was the tireless mentor and initiator of the re-birth of the city. He receives the City of Kiel Culture Prize for 1973, which is this year awarded for the notion of "space to live in – a world to live in".

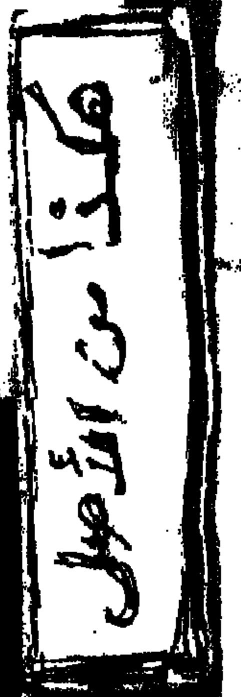
The exhibition, which was organised by in the city of Kiel with intensive cooperation on the part of Polish historians and art historians, clearly reflects the achievements of Professor Lorentz.

Apart from the historical section with the Bellotto landscapes the exhibition takes in the work of other artists – 32 water-colours by Zygmunt Vogel and twenty other paintings by Polish artists of the nineteenth century. There is also comprehensive photo exhibition and a series of slides showing the extent of the destruction of Warsaw and the massive task of rebuilding it.

It is this up-to-date section that puts the historical aspect in its true perspective and gives it its true significance. As we can see Warsaw did not shrug off history quite casually as though it were a bother, but treated it as an integral part of contemporary life. Warsaw did not look at pictures of its old self with melancholy realisation that the beauty could never be again. It reviewed its past and saw it as a living part of its future.

Inken Nowald

(Kieler Nachrichten, 25 June 1973)



■ EDUCATION

Educationalists study the importance of toys

Toys must not be looked upon by educationalists as a peripheral problem discussed at most by kindergarten attendants and socio-educationalists. Far more importance must be attached to this subject wherever there are children.

Giessen University's Educational Science Seminar and Educational Research Department conducted a survey with these aspects in mind. Psychologist Hein Retter recently published the preliminary results in the periodical *Die Grundschule.*

Retter claims that it is basically wrong for parents to give their children toys mainly at Christmas and not at other times of the year when there might be an educational need for them. He described this as a distressing state of affairs for education. Parents ought to be given more information about the importance of toys.

Retter also found that there were relatively few toys which could be described as typical girls' playthings though many toys were preferred by boys. This too is an unsatisfactory state of affairs and girls are plainly at a disadvantage.

The survey conducted by Giessen University thought it even more serious that the three sorts of toys used by girls more often than by boys (out of a total of 39!) were dolls, toy household articles and toy shops.

In an age when women too are expected to go out and work they force girls to practise the traditional roles of the woman as a housewife and mother at an early stage in their life. Their influence is therefore extremely effective.

Retter opposes this practice: "We have reason to believe the claim that women lack technical ability is not made any the more credible by the fact that the majority of women in our society agree with this view. The polytechnical training given to girls in the German Democratic Republic provides sufficient evidence of the dubiousness of any hypothesis based on what is described as the essential nature of women.

"The results of the survey conducted by Giessen University reveal that these attitudes and motivations are already fixed in a pre-school age by the availability of toys and the frequency of their use. This is no fault of the child. It is the parents' attitudes that are to blame.

"Bringing up and educatig a girl from the very outset to assume primarily a role as housewife or mother means a restriction in the possibilities of a broadly-based encouragement of talent in the arts and sciences.

"There is no educational justification for the fact, confirmed in our survey, that technical toys, contruction kits and kiddy cars are used less frequently by girls than by boys."

Cases of boys owning "typical" girls' toys and playing with dolls are considerably more common than instances of girls possessing model railways, toy pistols or a scooter. But if the cause of sexual equality is to be advanced, progress must begin in the nursery.

In their world of play girls need a range of educational toys that does not determine their future role from the very outset. This will only be achieved if efforts to change parents' attitudes meet with success.

In his survey Retter tried to calculate the frequency of 39 different types of toys and games in children's nurseries. Puzzles and games of patience, party games and modelling substances such as plasticene came way down the list.

There may be some justification for the lack of party games as the survey largely covered children who do not yet attend school. But researchers were surprised by the fact that so few families bought their children puzzle games. Fitting pieces of plastic together into larger units is considered to be of genuire importance for the development of practical intelligence.

The survey finally investigated the interesting question of whether parents in different social classes reacted differently towards their children's toys or play. Once again the lower classes were found to be conservative. They represent the old view that women should only be housewives and mothers.

Parents with no more than an elementary education tend to believe that a girl's interest should be directed to those types of toys relating to her future role as a housewife. This tendency was more pronounced in this group than among parents who had unde[…] intermediate or secondary educatio[…]

Opposition towards changing the traditional role of the boy by letting [him] play with dolls is generally not widespread but it is more common [among] parents with an elementary [school] education than those who have obtained their school-leaving certificate.

The researchers also discovered another important factor. Upper-class parents [are] more intent on their children creating a world of their own in their play without the interference of adults.

They allow their children greater scope for manoeuvre in their play and a greater scope of decision, thus providing an important basis for independent thought and action in future life.

Children belonging to the lower classes on the other hand are more exposed to the direct control of their parents in their play. In other words, children [in] upper-class nurseries are not dealt with [so] strictly.

Dr Gerhard K[…]

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 23 June […])

Experts call for revised school grading system

School reports will continue to be a source of misery or joy at homes in this country for many years to come, judging by the general tenor of the first international congress on this subject held in Düsseldorf at the instigation of an educational perodical published in Hamburg.

Despite violent criticism of the present grading system employed at schools in the Federal Republic, Rhineland Palatinate State Secretary Hanna Laurien stated that there was no such thing as a fair grading method.

But in order to achieve a better method of judging pupils by means of grades from one to six, more attention must be paid to performence and the way this performance is achieved in individual cases. Where class work for instance is concerned, it would be desirable, Dr Laurien claimed, for teachers to make use of a list of criteria drawn up by teacher committees when grading their pupils. These criteria are arranged in three sections – knowledge, understanding and imagination.

Professor Karlheinz Ingenkamp of Landau College of Educational Science revealed how questionable and unfair actually was. Though educationalists aim at having every pupil individually graded, many teachers still have a certain amount of social prejudice or are restricted to certain methods which can often only be attributed to poor knowledge of the subject.

Professor Ingenkamp does not believe that grading by numbers is a fair method of judging pupils' work. He therefore calls upon schools to introduce two different systems of controlling and judging the performance of schoolchildren.

Unlike the present system of grading by numbers, teachers will be required to write a report on every pupil at the end of the school year. Parents would then receive detailed information on the progress or otherwise made by their children during the school year.

Professor Ingenkamp also suggests that pupils who are about to switch to high school or from high school to university should be tested not be their teachers but by neutral specialists.

These tests would be introduced in all types of schools, would be standardised throughout the country and would also decide whether a child had to repeat a year. Only then, Ingenkamp and many of his colleagues believe, would there be a guarantee of equal educational opportunities.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 June 1973)

Professor predicts graduate glut

Universities and other institu[tions of] further education in the Fe[deral] Republic must abandon the trad[itional] one-subject education and introdu[ce] career-orientated courses.

The University Information Se[rvice] claims in its study on the demand [for] graduates up to 1991 that if measu[res of] this type are not adopted there could [be a] surplus of academics in some secto[rs by] 1981.

Professor Hajo Riese, one of [the] authors of the report, warned of [the] growing danger that universities w[ill] turn out graduates without pay[ing] attention to the demands of the [labour] market.

By 1991 there will not be enough [jobs] for the vast numbers of graduates le[aving] university after studying only [one] subject. Current trends will lead t[o a] surplus of mathematicians, scienti[sts and] arts graduates.

On the other hand the report [says] there will still be a perceptible shor[tage of] graduates who have studied medici[ne] or economics.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 25 Ma[…])

Homework guidelines drawn up by Hamburg authorities

More than two hundred thousand Hamburg schoolchildren and their teachers can look forward to the start of the new school year after the current summer holidays with some degree of relief.

Hamburg's education authority has issued guidelines of the amount of homework to be given to pupils in classes one to ten. These specifications take effect from 1 August and should clear up a number of discrepancies and uncertainties that have long bothered schoolchildren, parents and many teachers.

The city of Hamburg has for the first time issued a binding ruling on the amount of homework, the standard of difficulty, the aim of the work set and the way it is to be controlled.

Pupils and parents will no longer be able to feel that they are doing too much work. The guidelines also guard against those instances where teachers arbitrarily set homework as "occupational therapy" for their pupils.

The new guidelines do not permit homework to be set as a punishment or as a method for preserving class discipline as this cannot be defended from the educational point of view.

Homework must not be allowed to degenerate into a matter of routine where pupils are no longer forced to think, nor must it be set at the end of a lesson as a necessary evil. Instead it must form a basic part of the syllabus.

Parents must not be treated by the school as its educational assistants, the guidelines claim. But understanding for their children's homework must be encouraged.

The amount of time pupils must spend on homework a day is set out in detail. In their first school year pupils should only gradually be acqainted with homework. No time is specified.

Half an hour a day is the maximum for second-year pupils, an hour at most for third and fourth-year pupils and anything up to ninety minutes for fifth and sixth-year pupils.

Pupils in classes seven to ten are expected to do anything up to two hours homework a day. No maximum is specified for senior high-school pupils. Homework and the length of time to be spent on it will continue to be specified from case to case.

One ruling covers all pupils – if lessons have to take place in the afternoon instead of in the morning as is usual practice in this country's schools, teachers will not be allowed to set homework to be handed in the next day. Pupils will not be expected to do homework on Saturdays and Sundays either.

The guidelines issued by Ham[burg's] education authority are considered t[o be] the most modern currently exist[ing in] this country. They are also being u[sed as] a basis for discussion by a working [party] of the Education Ministers Confe[rence] school committee which is curr[ently] drawing up a number of recomme[nda]tions for the lower secondary s[tage] (classes five to ten).

One of the most important factors lead[ing] up to the publication of the[se] guidelines, apart that is from the education authority's recognition [that] the present system was intolerable [and] parents' complaints about the arbitrary way homework was set, was a move [by] the Education and Science Trade Un[ion] which demanded clearly defined speci[fi]cations and put forward proposals of [its] own.

The Parents Association and the Eduacation and Science Trade Un[ion] have welcomed the new guidelines d[rawn] up by Hamburg's education autho[rity]. The Parents Association has also c[alled] for homework groups where children [who] are unable to cope with their set [work] will be helped by teachers, students [and] older schoolchildren.

This demand has been backed by [the] Education and Science Trade [Union] which also calls on teachers to liaise [with] their colleagues so that the pupils [they] teach do not have too much homework heaped upon them.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 June 197[3])

■ MEDICINE

Medical history museum opened in Ingolstadt

Münchner Merkur

Johann Siegesmund Hahn, a doctor of philosophy and medicine from Schweidnitz decided in 1745 to publish the second enlarged edition of his medical textbook *The Strength and Effect of Fresh Water on the Human Constitution, especially that of the Sick, when used internally and externally.*

Since then millions of patients have been treated according to the recommendations of such men as Hahn, Vinzenz Priessnitz and Sebastian Kneipp. Baths, compresses and other forms of water cure are today an important part of medical treatment.

Bleeding patients on the other hand has become an extremely uncommon method of treatment after centuries of popularity among doctors. Exaggerated importance was once attached to this method and it was used without moderation But Professor Hans Goerke, who occupies the Chair for medical history at Munich University as well as heading Grosshadern Hospital, said on visiting the Museum of Medical History in Ingolstadt that it was wrong to imagine that bleeding was completely a thing of the past. One medical equipment firm in Munich alone still sold one thousand apparatuses of this type every year.

Medical history demonstrates the stubborness with which doctors adhere to drugs and methods of treatment once their effectiveness has been proved. Visitors to the Medical History Museum will see that this is true.

Some of the items used by Aesculapius' pupils in Ancient Rome are almost identical with the equipment used by surgeons today. The medicinal herbs grown in the museum garden are as effective today as they were in the past.

Acupuncture, a favourite method of treatment in the Far East for several centuries, is more topical than ever today – despite the fact that Meyer's Lexicon claimed just fifty years ago that it had been completely abandoned.

The methods which pure scientists contemptuously dub miracle cures and which in their view should form no part of modern medicine will always play a role, even though their effects cannot be repeated arbitrarily in experiments on animals. The Medical History Museum in Ingolstadt illustrates this in an extremely entertaining way while adhering strictly to the findings research reveals.

Professor Hans Goerke, the head of the Museum, and his staff were confronted with the task of sifting through the vast quantities of material concerned with medical history and selecting those items which provided some idea about the subject in its overall context.

They succeeded and the Federal Republic now has a medical museum. The former medical museum in Berlin disappeared literally overnight in 1946 – apart from two jars Goerke was able to save.

(Photo: Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt)

The new museum in Ingolstadt, which did not even exist as a glint in the planner's eye three years ago, does not have the atmosphere of a museum and is housed in the noble Baroque edifice of the *Alte Anatomie* built exactly 250 years ago for the medical faculty of what was then Ingolstadt University.

Any museum catering for more people than just the experts must have its curios. There are for instance two examples of doctors' ladies – the anantomically faithful miniatures of the female body used by doctors in China who were forbidden to see or examine naked women. The women would point to the part of the model where they felt pain.

Other curios are the two large chamberpots built of the finest materials and prettily decorated. Before anyone claims that this has nothing whatever to do with medicine, it must be pointed out that the digestive disorders which still torment people daily used to force both princes and peasants out of bed and on to the chamberpot in the days before the water closet was invented.

Enemas were once an extremely popular form of treatment and some of them appeared in such martial forms as the leather strait-jackets and chains for mental patients that can be seen in the Museum.

Many of the items on show both illustrate the history of medicine and have a story of their own. One of the boilers there was used by Dr Sauerbruch to sterilise the syringe used to give the

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MEDIA

Trade unions' publications wield little influence

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Trade union newspapers do not have to heed the instructions of a profit-orientated publisher and yet they are not completely independent. They have a readership totalling millions and yet their influence is relatively minor.

They base their style on that of the popular dailies and illustrated magazines and yet they aim less at supplying entertainment than information. Changing society is their declared aim, but normally they have to reckon with readers who pay more attention to other media.

In the eyes of their critics they form a powerful "opinions incorporated". But from their own ranks are accused of not knowing how to raise their voice loud enough in the world of competitive journalism.

But there are no differences of opinion on one basic point. As Günter Stephan, a member of the Trades Union Confederation (DGB) executive, states, without their newspapers the successes of the trade unions and their steady upward trend would never have been possible.

The trade unions affiliated to the DGB control an impressive publishing empire. Their presses print some fifty different periodicals for members and officials and achieve an average circulation of over thirteen million copies month for month.

Some 2.2 million copies are printed every fortnight of *Metall* the most lavish and best-produced trade union newspaper. Other trade union newspapers with a high circulation include the *ÖTV-Magazin* with a circulation of 870,000, *Grundstein* the building-workers trade union journal with a circulation of 550,000, and *Gewerkschaftspost* the chemical-workers trade union's newspaper with a circulation of half a million.

But is ist not only the sixteen individual trade unions which publish newspapers and periodicals. The DGB itself is also able to put across its views to the public with the periodicals published by the *Bund-Verlag*.

They include the weekly *Welt der Arbeit* the monthly *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte, Die Quelle* the periodical for trade union officials, the youth magazine *'ran, Der Deutsche Beamte* for civil servants and *Wirtschaft und Wissen* for white-collar workers.

"The Trades Union Confederation and the trades unions affiliated to this organisation have built up an immense press empire remote from critical observation," the recently-folded Springer publication *Dialog* noted.

Closer examination of this press giant run by the trade unions reveals its weaknesses. The trade union publications which cost some thirty million Marks a year have no standardised conception behind them and their influence is disputed, to say the least.

Rainer-Georg Lange, the editor of *Grundstein* believes that his publication with a style based on the popular illustrated magazines is an effective journalistic instrument.

His colleague Klaus-Dieter Zemlin of the *Deutsche Post* claims that the trade union press is on the whole far less effective than is commonly assumed. "The financial investment in them bears no comparison with their success," he comments.

But both sides would find it difficult to provide evidence for their respective claims. While other publishers are able to judge from the sales of their publication whether or not the editorial approach appeals to readers, the trade union press has no criteria of this sort.

Apart from a number of Bund-Verlag publications, all the newspapers and magazines are distributed to members free of charge. As a result few of the trade union editors know for sure how their publications are received by their readership.

They do not know either how many of their members actually read the papers. "We have no list of regular subscribers to guide us," Hanns-Peter Schlobben, a DGB press official, comments.

Realising the dilemma they are in, some trade unions have tried to gauge the popular appeal of their publications by means of a survey. The financially powerful Metalworkers Union for instance engaged the Bad Godesberg Institute for Applied Social Science (INFAS) to conduct a reader analysis.

The findings flattered the five-man editorial staff of *Metall* the trade union's publication. As many as 57 per cent of the sample covered claimed that the periodical was good or very good while a further 31 per cent were satisfied by it.

These statistics do not however suggest that trade union publications would be able to maintain themselves on the open market. "Even the greatest optimists look upon these claims with a fair degree of scepticism," radio commentator Horst Berger said many years ago when editor of a trade union publication.

The uncertainty about whether the effort and money put into many of these periodicals are really worth while has resulted in initiatives to end this plurality and concentrate funds on just one representative publication. But all attempts to overcome this diversity and agree on one large-circulation periodical have so far met with failure.

Peter Riemer, the editor of the *Holzarbeiter-Zeitung* dashed the hopes of many trade unionists that an easily readable and at the same time high-quality trade union daily could ever be published when he claimed: "The old dream of making a *Bild-Zeitung* for thinking and critical readers will simply never materialise."

The fact that all attempts to reach any rational degree of concentration have normally met with doom in their early stages is due to both financial and administrative reasons.

"Even if all trade unions were to combine their funds, there would still not be enough money available," Hanns-Peter Schlobben reports. He should know – he was one of the authors of the press report submitted to last year's DGB congress in Berlin.

"Thorough examination of the costs involved reveals that a standard weekly periodical could not be financed out of the money currently available, even if all the trade unions were to cooperate," the report states.

But even if sufficient money were available any project involving the establishment of a central trade union publication would hardly be able to get off the ground. Most of the sixteen trade unions affiliated to the DGB are not prepared to discontinue their own publications. They either feel obliged to obey their statutes, which guarantees each of their members a free periodical, or they fear that the DGB leadership could become more powerful.

Only the textile workers and restaurant and hotel staffs trade unions followed the DGB's call for greater cooperation and merged their editorial staffs. But this pilot scheme, as DGB-head Heinz Oskar Vetter calls it, has not yet been copied in other sectors.

The variety of the trade union press is revealed in both the large number of publications and in their differing editorial styles. All editors of trade union publications are subject to the general obligation of representing the policies of the executive and executive organs to trade union members but they hold extremely differing views on style, choice of subject and political commitment.

"Trade union newspapers reflect to a large extent the structure and internal constitution of the organisations they represent," Christian Götz, editor of *Ausblick* comments.

While Herr Lange, the editor of *Baustein*, is primarily concerned with putting across his bosses' views, Herr Riemer, his colleague on the timber and plastics workers union's press, believes that he should not only be a connective link between the organisation and the individual members but also cause a certain degree of unrest.

"When a person no longer agrees with the executive, it's time for him to go," is Lange's philosophy. "If we were to [illegible] ourselves to reports that make us happy and contented, we wouldn't need a newspaper of our own," Riemer [illegible]

One thing is certain. The trade union press is subject to no central control. Admittedly, there are a number of topics, such as the demand for [illegible] participation in decision-making, [illegible] are dealt with along similar lines [illegible] newspapers.

These publications also reflect opinions expressed by the DGB press committee, consisting of the editors of trade union newspapers. But it would be wrong to conclude from this that a concerted effort is made to put across the same opinions. "There are no guidelines nor censorship," Walter Fr[illegible] a spokesman for the DGB executive stresses

"Producing a trade union newspaper involves having a social conscience," [illegible] Stephan, a member of the DGB executive claims. But even though trade union executives and editors share the same interests there is still friction, struggle for power and intrigue.

Walter Fabian's dismissal from his post as editor-in-chief of the *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte* and the open and [illegible] attacks on the aggressive political magazine *'ran* prove that some trade unionists pay no serious attention in their own camp to the freedom of the press they otherwise advocate.

Trade union publications have [illegible] regulations clearly defining the powers of editorial staffs on the one hand and the publishers on the other.

A committed trade union editor is therefore in a constant state of tension.

"He supports trade union policy but does not wish to be completely integrated into the trade union apparatus," Christian Götz claims. "His work is comparable to walking the tightrope. Whatever he does there will always be someone who is [illegible] satisfied."

Peter Pragal

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 June 1973)

Ingolstadt's medical history museum

Continued from page 13

dying President von Hindenburg his last injection in Neudeck.

Visitors can see the gynaecological instruments, complete with Wittelsbach crown, used by Prince Louis Ferdinand of Bavaria when treating his poor patients in Nymphenburg Palace.

Also on exhibition is a thin volume dating from 1895 when it cost sixty pfennigs, in which a Dr. W. Röntgen described a new type of ray he had discovered. This work brought him the Nobel Prize, the first time it had been awarded to a German.

An iron lung is also on show. When built 21 years ago it was thought of as a miraculous item of equipment. Today it is not much more than scrap!

Ottmar Katz/PAM

(Münchner Merkur, 25 June 1973)

SPORT

Kiel Week paves the way for the next Olympics

At this year's Kiel regatta week the Y flag indicating the instruction to don life jackets because of the hazards of heavy seas and strong winds, has yet to be flown.

The weather in Kiel Bay has been reminiscent of lazy, high-summer days on inland waterways and lakes. The breeze has been nothing spectacular, but Kiel Week itself is anything but becalmed.

The Olympics are over and done with but for a few days the Olympic yachting harbour at Schilksee, Kiel, is full of activity again as boats fight it out on point-to-point courses for Kiel Week wins in thirteen categories.

Whether 23, 24 or 25 countries are taking part is a matter for conjecture, even experts having been puzzled by the nationality symbol KJE, which turned out to be Jersey in the Channel Islands, which has its own yachting association but can hardly be said to represent an independent nation.

On the distant horizon Olympic considerations are once again looming large. In 1976 the Olympic regatta will be held off Kingston, Lake Ontario, and there will be two new yacht categories, the 470 yawls and the Tornados, both of which commanded attention at Kiel this year.

Tornados are catamarans, twin-hulled boats that purvey an atmosphere of South Seas romanticism. In favourable weather they are faster than any other Olympic category of yacht.

The two-man crew engages in gymnastics on a sort of screen slung between the two hulls and at times the one hull is [illegible] out of the water, considerably reducing the brake on speed imposed by friction.

The Soviet yachtsmen, who have not only Kingston in 1976 but also Tallinn, Estonia, in 1980 on their minds, promtly ourchased the two Tornados placed at their disposal by this country's yachting association.

Their Tornado yachtsmen, including Fyodor Zhutkov, who sailed in Pinegin's gold medal-winning Star in 1960, made a complete mess-up of their first race, as coach Leonar Mitnitski smilingly admitted.

This, however, is a tale that could be told by many ambitious beginners with this unusual boat. This country's best Tornado yachtsmen hail from West Berlin.

The 470 yawls, so called because their length is 4.70 metres, characterise another trend in yachting. While the Tornado heralds a fresh breeze in European yachting in the 470 points to a future in which top-class yachting will no longer be an expensive sport.

The 470, a lightweight two-man yawl with a plastic hull designed by André Cornu of France, is already to be found in 25 countries. Fifteen thousand of them have been sold.

Mass construction makes it inexpensive and the 470 is likely to remain so, the adjudicators having strictly rejected the idea of making any costly alterations to the design.

More than a hundred 470s took part in Kiel Week this year. They were divided into two groups in order to ensure that everyone starts at the same time. The winners of the two groups are to sail against one another on the final day of the regatta.



A high wind in the Kiel Bay (Photo: Werek)

This makes apparent the extent to which Kiel Week is a mass event and not a regatta for some imagined elite.

Inexperienced laymen cannot envisage the difficulties faced by the adjudicators on the start and finish boats. In the new categories in particular, where standards still vary considerably, adjudicators have their work cut out keeping tabs on all competitors.

In the 470 class the difference in time between first and last boats in certain races amounted to some two hours.

At last year's Olympic regatta in Kiel two men from this country won bronze medals. Of the two – Willi Kuhweide and Uli Libor – only Libor was in the lead and heading for victory this year in the Flying Dutchman category.

Willi Kuhweide, who has switched his allegiance from the Star, which is no longer an Olympic category, to the Soling, was in the lead on the first day but fell back as the breeze stubbornly refused to stiffen.

He then quickly got hold of new lightweight sails for calm weather – a pointer to the extent to which materials now matter.

This year Kiel has not been marked by the strain and stress of the Olympics, Kingston and Tallinn still being some time away, although Tallinn had an official delegation on the spot.

Kiel Week 1973 resembled full-scale manoeuvres. More than 700 yawls and yachts competed with future prospects in mind – an age in which yachting might well be a mass

Daniel Aster

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 Juni 1973)

Motorcyclist Enders proposes to retire

The showcases in his parental home in Wetzlar are chock full of gold and silver trophies. Klaus Enders, 36, claims not to have counted them, surmising that there must have forty or so. He obviously regards them as pointless riches.

Motorcyclist Enders would doubtless prefer his unique run of successes in sidecar racing – 25 grand prix victories and five world championship titles – to have left its mark on his bank account rather than in showcases.

Motorcycle racing has never been more than a hobby for him and at 36 he has to start thinking seriously about his professional future. Klaus Enders, who together with sidecar man Rolf Engelhardt clinched their fifth world championship title by winning the Dutch grand prix at Assen, has owned his own repair shop for three years but has yet to make it pay.

He has spent the past three seasons working almost exclusively on his own BMW racing machine. Enders, a precision mechanic and toolmaker by trade, has finally decided that this is to be his last season.

"This autumn I am retiring," he says, but the decision is not yet final. Were he only able to earn a living from his hobby he and his team-mate would go on for another season.

Enders does not like to talk about the possibility of carrying on for a further, fifteenth year in motorcycle racing, certainly not in public. He feels the prospect of being taken on as a works rider by BMW is still too vague.

Were it to materialise, it would put him on a par with all-time great Giacomo Agostini of Italy.

Enders and Engelhardt at least manage to meet their expenses now that BMW provide them with spares and, of course, they regularly win the events for which they enter, "but you can't earn a living from it," the world champion comments.

"At Hockenheim, for instance, we earn a mere 1,400 Marks and the highest prize money of the season, 600 pounds sterling, is won only after the longest and toughest race of the season, the Manx Tourist Trophy."

"All told a season's motorcycling costs between 30,000 and 50,000 Marks," Enders continues. "You need only to write off an engine costing between 15,000 and 20,000 Marks or to retire once or twice to make the hobby an expensive one."

Among racers Klaus Enders is rated a safety fanatic. "I only ever ride as fast as the risk can be calculated," he says. "Then the racetrack is a good deal less dangerous than the autobahn. I've never had a serious accident to speak of, the last slipup being in 1970 when Kalauch fell out of the sidecar in Brno, Czechoslovakia."

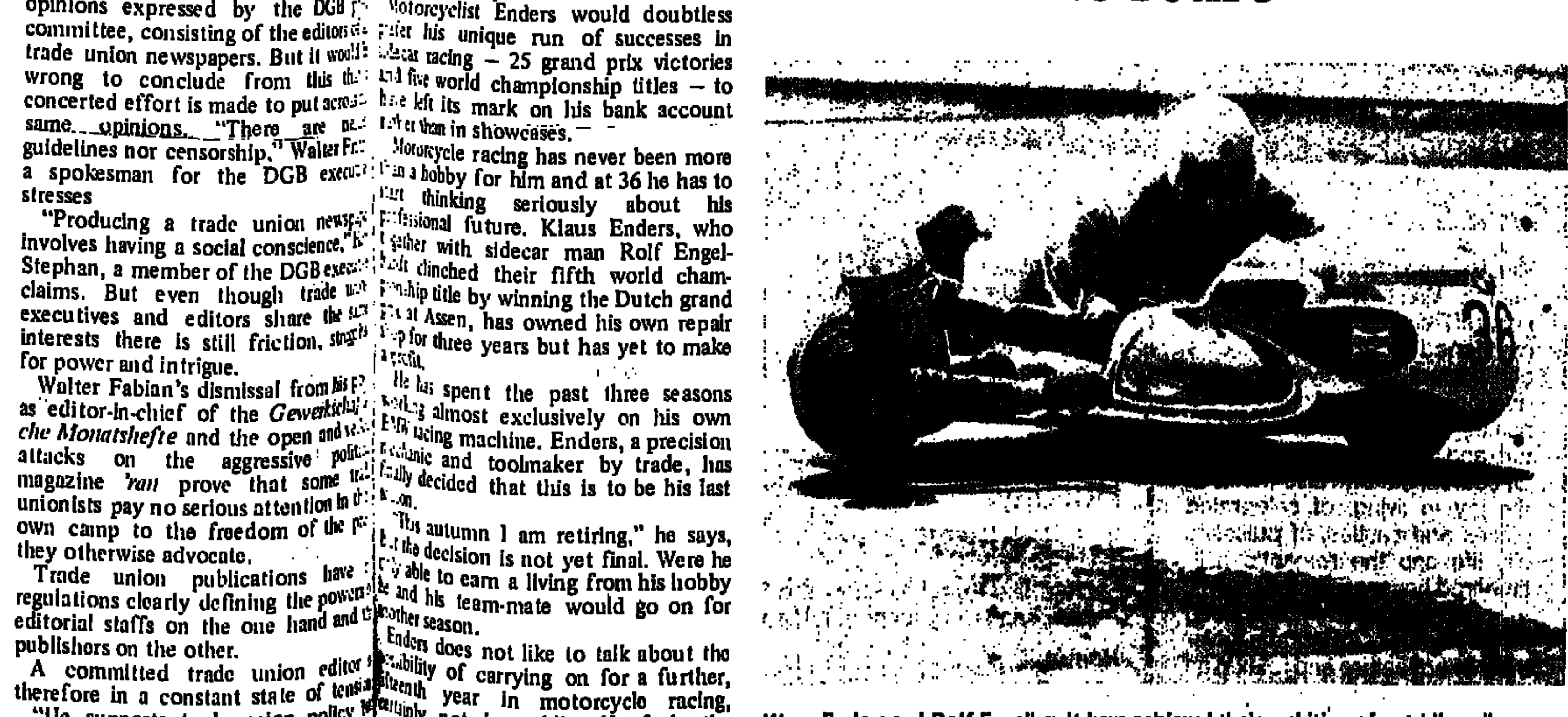
Enders' only worry is a technical hitch. "But as far as we can tell nothing can happen, touch wood," he says, grinning wryly.

Before the start of a race every single screw is tightened and kept in place with a piece of wire. Before every practice run and race Enders does all the work and conducts all the checks himself.

Even so, his mother still worries about her only son despite his fifteen years in racing and hopes that his decision to call it a day is final. His father has grown accustomed to the anxiety, his only advice to his son being not to marry as long as he is still in racing.

Hartmut Scherzer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 Juni 1973)



Klaus Enders and Rolf Engelhardt have achieved their ambition of outriding all comers for the fifth time this season, winning the sidecar event at the Dutch motorcycle grand prix in Assen. They were also victorious in France, Austria, this country and the Isle of Man thus making sure of the world championship title for the fifth time, having won the title already in 1967, 1969, 1970 and 1972. Never before in the history of motorcycle racing has a team won the sidecar title five times. They thus improved on the previous record, four world championship titles, held by Oliver of Britain and Deubel and Hörner of Germany on BMWs. (Photo: Schirner)